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**The Social Significance of Curse
Tablets in the North-Western
Provinces of the Roman Empire**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Department of Classical Studies, The Open
University

Submitted in September 2016

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient authors and their works follow those used in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Hornblower *et al.* 2012. 4th edition), and all translations are my own unless specified. Journal abbreviations follow those of *L'Année philologique*. References to the texts of curse tablets not included in the database in Appendix 1 are given as their number in the relevant publication, accompanied by an abbreviation as listed below. References to interpretations or arguments put forward by the editors of the curse tablets in the publications are given as standard author-date citations.

AE – *L'Année épigraphique*

CAG – Provost, M. *et al.* (1988-) *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CTNW – Curse Tablets from the North West. Refers to curses in the database in Appendix 1. For more detail on how these are organised and presented see the preface to the appendices.

dfx – Kropp (2008a)

DT – Audollent (1904)

DTM – Blänsdorf (2012)

ILN – *Inscriptions latines de narbonnais*

ILS - *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

PGM – *Papyri Graecae Magicae* translated by Betz (1992)

RIB – *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*

RIG – Lambert (2002)

SGD I – Jordan (1985)

SGD II – Jordan (2000)

Tab. Sulis – Tomlin (1988b)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In one form or another, the ritual of cursing an enemy by inscribing a piece of lead existed for over a thousand years in the regions around the Mediterranean, and for five hundred years in the regions of northern Europe that became part of the Roman Empire. Despite numerous attempts by religious and legal authorities to stamp out the practices, their continued use suggests that they were successful in their capacity to directly address difficult moments in the everyday lives of people across the Graeco-Roman world. One such person was the unnamed wife of Florus, a resident of Mainz.¹ At some point in the late first or early second century AD she lost all of the money left to her by her (presumably) late husband. According to her version of events, the fortune had been stolen by a certain Ulattius Severus, clearly someone she trusted, perhaps a relative or her guardian. Having no legal right to pursue her case through the courts, this woman turned to the gods in her time of need. She went to the temple of Mater Magna, where she had heard, perhaps from friends or acquaintances, that it was possible to perform a cursing ritual against thieves and embezzlers. She procured a thick sheet of lead, perhaps from the priests at the temple and possibly for a small fee, and inscribed her curse against the man who had betrayed her (Figure 1).

¹ CTNW 308.



Figure 1: CTNW 308 (Mainz), written by the wife of Florus. Blänsdorf 2012, pp 76-77, figure DTM 3.

*rogo te domina Mater Magna ut tu me uindices de bonis Flori coniugis mei qui me
fraudauit Ulattius Severus quemadmod[um] hoc ego auerse scribo sic ille omnia
quidquid agit quidquid aginat omnia illi auersa fiant ut sal et aqua illi eueniat
quidquid mi abstulit de bonis Flori coniugis mei rogo te domina Mater Magna ut tu
de eo me uindices*

I ask you, Lady Mater Magna, that you avenge me in the matter of the fortune of my husband Florus. The one who has deceived me, Ulattius Severus: just as I write this wrongly, so shall everything that he does, everything he undertakes, everything should go wrongly for him. Like salt and water shall it go for him.

Everything he has taken away from me from the fortune of my husband Florus, I ask you Lady Mater Magna, that for this you avenge me.

The priests directed her to a pit behind the temple, which was lined with the burnt remains of animal and plant matter that others had given to the goddess. After taking in her enclosed, perhaps smoky surroundings, she would have spoken the words that would

invoke the vengeful power of the goddess, and finally have thrown her tablet into the piles of ash at the bottom of the pit. We will probably never know what the outcome of this ritual was, but it is very likely that the wife of Florus walked out of the temple feeling that she had at least done something to rectify the wrong done to her. She may have reported back to the friends that had told her of the rituals performed at the temple, setting the rumour mill in motion. If the gossip reached Ulattius Severus, it might have sowed a seed of doubt in his mind, meaning the next time a business arrangement went sour, or the next time he suffered an illness, he began to worry about the divine implications of his dealings with the wife of Florus.

Some of what I have presented here is, of course, creative speculation, but it nevertheless demonstrates the potential significance of curse tablets for the social lives of the people who produced them. Although what often survives is only a few scratched lines, barely legible on corroded lead sheets, these objects, and the rituals of which they were a part, were explicitly directed towards the faults, failings and crisis points in the relationships that connected people to others around them. Community life in the ancient world – as in any human society across time and space – was never lived in total harmony, and rituals such as cursing offered a means through which people could define, negotiate and at times destroy the social relationships that they made with others.

In doing so they drew upon influences from local, regional and global beliefs and practices, connecting their actions to those of countless others across the Roman Empire. Despite this, they were able to adapt the cursing rituals to make them relevant for their own particular circumstance, like the wife of Florus attacking the business dealings of her embezzling guardian. This means that what survives are thousands of individual appeals to the gods, with huge variations in language, style, content and form.

The focus of this study is on these individual circumstances and situations and how, by closely examining the curse tablets and the contexts in which they were produced, modern scholars can develop a greater understanding of the lives of the people who made them. Much modern scholarship on curse tablets has been concerned with

attempting to fit them into schemes of categorisation, based on either motive or language use, or has used them as evidence for linguistic changes in the Latin language. Where their ritual importance has been recognised, it has usually been done within a pan-Imperial tradition of magical practices and beliefs. This study aims to take a radically different approach to the curses from the north-western provinces, by examining them within the physical and social contexts of the local communities in which they were produced. The central aim of this study is to show that curse tablets were an important means of addressing moments of crisis for the people who made them, and that the rituals that created the curses were creatively performed, taking inspiration from the world around them in those moments of crisis. This will be achieved through the application of theoretical discussions developed in other areas of archaeology as well as the related disciplines of religious studies and social anthropology. Ethnographic studies of modern traditional societies, where magical beliefs and practices form a central part of community relationships, will be used to think about the ancient evidence in new ways, and in particular will reveal the importance of rumour and gossip for the performance of magical rituals. The present study also aims to bring curse tablets into contact with ongoing debates within Roman archaeology, particularly over cultural changes in the provinces. This study will demonstrate the significant contribution that these often-overlooked objects can make to scholarly understanding of lived experience in the Roman north-west and, equally, how applying the methods of scholars working on identity, power and agency in these regions can advance the understanding of the curses themselves.

In this introductory chapter I will first outline what scholars have sought to establish about how cursing developed in the ancient world, as well as the ways in which such rituals were conceptualised in ancient literary sources. This makes it possible to set the cursing practices of the Roman imperial period within their appropriate historical and social contexts, as well as revealing some of the biases and prejudices present among the elite in antiquity, which have often been adopted, consciously or unconsciously, by modern scholars. Following this I will summarise the development of the study of curse tablets over the past century, including the ways in which classicists and archaeologists

have classified these texts, with the intention of showing how this study relates to existing scholarship. I will then move on to outline the research questions being addressed in this thesis, followed by the methodology and theoretical background used to do so.

1.1: What are Curse Tablets?

Jordan has defined curse tablets as “inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or the welfare of persons or animals against their will.”² On the basis of this definition they have been identified widely across the ancient world, from Classical Athens to Roman Germany. Although lead is the most common material for the tablets found by modern archaeologists, the ancients certainly used others. Ovid mentions wax tablets,³ and other examples have been found written on stone, tin, copper, pewter, ceramic and bronze.⁴ It is certain that not all curses made in the ancient world were physically inscribed on something, as there was a strong tradition of oral cursing and oath-taking that was intimately linked to the inscribed examples that have been found by modern archaeologists, but which ultimately took no lasting physical form.⁵

Probably the key phrase in Jordan’s definition of curse tablets is ‘influence by supernatural means ... against their will.’ This criterion is crucial in defining the boundaries of what are considered to be curse tablets, and which objects are excluded from that category. I will discuss scholarly classification further below, but it is important to establish early on that there are other inscriptions on lead and other materials that, although they may share features with curse tablets, are not categorised as such, and have therefore been excluded from this study. Magical amulets are a good example, as the inscriptions

² Jordan, 1985, p. 151. Although the term *defixiones* (singular *defixio*) has often been used for these objects, the discussion over divisions between ‘binding *defixiones*’ and ‘prayers for justice’ has led many scholars, including myself, to adopt the less technical term ‘curse tablets’ as a catch-all to allow the inclusion of as many as possible. These divisions with the corpus will be discussed further in Section 1.4.

³ Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.27-30.

⁴ Ogden, 1999, p. 10. From the north-west, the Bath tablets (CTNW 2-118) were mostly pewter or other lead and tin alloys, the Châteaubleau curse (CTNW 242) was inscribed on a tile and the one from Maar (CTNW 214) was etched onto the side of a pot.

⁵ Watson, 1991, p. 214; Faraone, 2005; Gordon, 2015, pp. 148-150.

associated with them can contain some of the specialised language and formulas of curses, but are ultimately aimed at protecting the bearer, not at influencing others.⁶ There are various motives and mechanisms for influencing people with curse tablets, and these will be explored in Chapter 4.

1.2: Development of Ancient Cursing

The earliest surviving tablets come from late sixth- or early fifth-century BC Sicily, and were found in the cemetery at Selinus.⁷ There were certainly antecedents to this, and scholars have identified similarities with Graeco-Roman practices in various earlier cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and Near East.⁸ However, the use of inscribed lead tablets seems to have been an innovation of the Greek world, and the practice was adopted in Attica from the later fifth century onwards, where it became popular in attacks on legal and political opponents.⁹ Cursing was also turned to other motives by Athenians and other Greeks over the course of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, primarily relating to love and commerce.¹⁰ The style and tone of the language used on the curses shifted and changed as these different intentions developed over the centuries and certain formulas appear to have become standard, as they are often found repeated on many tablets.¹¹

From around the fourth century BC the practice of writing curses on lead was adopted by the Etruscans and Samnites in Italy.¹² It is difficult to determine the motives behind these Italian curses as they tend to consist of only lists of names, occasionally accompanied by simple curse formulas, but there are suggestions that they could have

⁶ The amulet found in London is a prime example, as it was inscribed on a lead sheet and also appeals to supernatural powers common in curse tablets. However, it is aimed at protecting the bearer from plague, rather than at influencing other people. See Tomlin, 2013a, pp. 390-391.

⁷ Dickie, 2001, p. 17.

⁸ Gager, 1992, pp. 25-27; Nakamura, 2004; Faraone *et al.*, 2005.

⁹ For a detailed examination of the development of cursing in Classical Athens see Eidinow, 2007b.

¹⁰ Faraone, 1991, p. 10.

¹¹ On the language used in Greek curses see Kagarow, 1929; Faraone, 1991.

¹² Curses have been found at Etruscan sites at Volterra and in northern Etruria (*DT* 124-6 and 128 respectively, see Massarelli, 2014, pp. 177-220 for a recent discussion of these and more recent finds) and also written in Oscan from sites in Campania, Samnium and Lucania et Bruttii (Murano, 2012; 2013; McDonald, 2015, pp. 133-166).

legal or commercial motives.¹³ The earliest Latin curse also comes from the Samnite region of Italy, having been found in a second-century BC grave at Pompeii,¹⁴ and the discovery of further Latin texts dated to the republican period from Greece and Spain attests to the adaptation of the practice throughout the expanding Roman world.¹⁵ There is considerable evidence for the wider use of cursing during the imperial period as the practice spread to every province, including north of the Alps.¹⁶ In this early period the distribution was spread thinly across the western Empire, with only small concentrations at sites such as Bad Kreuznach and Mainz.¹⁷ This changed in the second and third centuries, with surges of activity at Bath and Uley in Britain, as well as Carthage and Hadrumetum in North Africa, leading to the deposition of dozens, even hundreds of tablets at each.¹⁸ Traditionally, scholars have linked this surge in popularity to the rise of the increasingly syncretic professional system of magical beliefs and practices that is displayed in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM). These texts were mostly written between the third and the fifth centuries, and show influences from Greek, Egyptian and Hebrew traditions, among others.¹⁹ Evidence from across the eastern Mediterranean, as well as Rome,²⁰ shows that this system was widespread under the Empire, perhaps travelling with professional magicians. The emphasis in the PGM is on divinatory magic, erotic attraction and healing spells, with power coming from a whole host of gods, demons and spirits that are coerced into helping the magician through the use of special materials in conjunction with highly prescriptive gestures, movements, and spoken and written

¹³ McDonald, 2015, p. 146f.

¹⁴ *dfx.* 1.5.4/1.

¹⁵ *dfx.* 10.1/1 and 2.2.2/1 respectively. Few tablets have been found in the city of Rome itself, and those that have been found tend to be late, such as those from the Fountain of Anna Perenna (Piranomonte, 2010) or from the cemetery near the Porta S. Sebastiano (*dfx.* 1.4.4/4-1.4.4/7). However, this is more likely due to issues of survival rather than any aversion to the practice in the city. The cemeteries and watery places where curses were often deposited have not gone undisturbed in Rome, and so the small lead tablets are likely to have been moved or destroyed in the intervening centuries.

¹⁶ Kropp, 2008b, p. 45.

¹⁷ Two coins of Vespasian were found with the Bad Kreuznach tablets (Weckerling, 1887, p. 65), and a secure *terminus ante quem* of AD 130 is given for those from Mainz by the stamped tiles and Trajanic coins that covered the deposit (Blänsdorf, 2010a, p. 143; 2012, p. 1).

¹⁸ Bath: CTNW 2-118; Uley: CTNW 161-201; Carthage (Latin): *dfx.* 11.1.1/1-11.1.1/37; Hadrumetum (Latin): 11.2.1/1-11.2.1/42. For the Greek texts found at these two sites see Audollent, 1904, pp. 287-412; *SGD I* 138-48; *SGD II* 90-2.

¹⁹ Betz, 1992, p. xli.

²⁰ The recent finds at the Spring of Anna Perenna at Rome were heavily influenced by Greek magical traditions, see Blänsdorf, 2010b; Piranomonte, 2010; Blänsdorf, 2015.

words. Performance of these spells would have required specialist knowledge, and scholars have usually concluded that professional magicians sold the recipes to clients, or performed the rituals on their behalf.²¹ However, there is very little evidence for this professionalised magical tradition in the north-western provinces until later periods,²² and these regions developed their own traditions of cursing based on local needs, as I will argue throughout this study.

1.3: Magic and Cursing in Ancient Literature

Despite the wide geographical and chronological range over which they were used, in one form or another, there are relatively few references to curse tablets in surviving written sources. Many modern scholars describe them using the Latin term *defixio*, but this never appears in the ancient literature,²³ and the occasional references to tablets in this form that do exist treat them only in passing, usually negatively. From the earlier Greek texts there is the folded tablet, engraved with deadly signs, which condemns Bellerophon in *The Iliad*,²⁴ and also Plato's attack on wandering priests and prophets who sell curse tablets to the wealthy.²⁵ When mentioned in Roman sources, curses are almost always connected to illicit magical rituals, usually involving women. The only substantial account of an actual ritual involving curse tablets is from Ovid, who describes a drunken old woman binding the tongues of her enemies during a festival of the dead.²⁶ Ovid's description is sensationalised, but nevertheless involves details that may have formed part

²¹ Gager, 1992, p. 5; Ogden, 1999, pp. 57-60; Dickie, 2001, p. 243.

²² There have been a few amulets found in Britain that were written in Greek and contain *charaktes* (for these see Tomlin, 2011a) but, along with a few isolated finds, the largest group of north-western curses that consistently exhibit such features are those from the Trier amphitheatre (CTNW 215-33, 235-6, 238), which have been dated to no earlier than the fourth century.

²³ Except once, in a later glossary: *C.Gloss.Lat* ii.40. It is unclear what Latin term was used, if any, but Tomlin suggests that it may have been *devotio*, *execratio* or *donatio* (Tomlin, 1988b, p. 59). In ancient literary sources there is no standard term: Pliny calls them *precationes* (*HN* 28.4.19), and they are often implicitly grouped together with other magical practices under the terms *maleficium*, *venenum* and *veneficium* (e.g. Cic., *Brut.* 217; *Dig.*, 48.8; Apul., *Met.* 9.29; Ov., *Am.* 3.7.27).

²⁴ Hom., *Il.* 6.168.

²⁵ Pl., *Resp.* 2.364c. Plato specifically calls them *katadesmoi*, translated as 'bindings', and a standard Greek term for curses inscribed on metal tablets.

²⁶ Ov., *Fast.* 2.571-82.

of actual binding rituals, such as the tying of strings and the use of lead.²⁷ The image he produces of vindictive or jealous women using curse tablets is found in other examples from Latin literature, including another of Ovid's poems, as well as Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.²⁸ In these examples the women are using curses to control the desires of men: a wife trying to recapture an adulterous husband, or a spurned mistress 'withering' the sexual prowess of her former lover. The trope of curses as the domain of women can be found in historical sources too, for example in Tacitus, who reports that the mere accusation of resorting to magical rituals was enough to destroy the reputation of powerful female members of the imperial family.²⁹ A rare exception to this trope appears in the story of the death of Germanicus, supposedly perpetrated by Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, which was believed to have been brought about by curses and other horrific magical objects hidden in his house.³⁰

There are various ways of reading these literary depictions of curse tablets and binding spells. The most apparent element is the gender stereotyping employed by the exclusively elite male author base. Men are only ever the victims of curses, which are described as "arts natural to women."³¹ Here curses come into the wider debate within Roman society of *religio* versus *superstitio* and the ongoing discussion about which forms of communicating with the gods were acceptable, and which were not.³² Correct religious practice was bound up with the image of the ideal Roman man, and valued concern for the state and community, whereas *superstitio* was classified as being concerned with private interests and gains.³³ This dichotomy was used to draw boundaries between Roman religion on the one hand and a host of unacceptable practices and beliefs on the other. The ideal superstitious person was an old woman, who lacked the courage,

²⁷ The use of lead in binding rituals is attested by the curse tablets themselves, and tying strings around other objects is an important part of several rituals outlined in the *PGM* (4.296-466, 5.304-69, 7.429-58).

²⁸ Ov., *Am* 3.7.27-30; Apul., *Met.* 3.17 and 9.29. Although they do not use lead tablets, the witches in Hor., *Epod.* 5 conform to this stereotype of vindictive old women using spells to bind lovers.

²⁹ Tac., *Ann.* 4.52; 12.65; 16.31.

³⁰ Tac., *Ann.* 2.69.

³¹ Apul., *Met.* 9.29.

³² Cicero was especially important in defining this debate – see *Nat. D.* 1.42.117; 2.28.70; 3.39.92; *Div.* 2.19. For modern discussions of *superstitio* in Roman religion see, in particular, Martin, 2004 and Gordon, 2008.

³³ Martin, 2004, p. 132.

moderation and steadiness expected of ideal Romans, and was therefore more likely to resort to wicked, selfish or dishonourable rituals when communicating with the gods.³⁴ Women are especially characterised as users of magic to influence the sexual prowess or desires of men, or to punish lovers who have left them. Dickie has studied this in detail, showing that there is a 3:1 ratio of women to men depicted using erotic magic in ancient literature, mostly disreputable women like prostitutes or vindictive, jealous old women.³⁵

Scholarship can be accused of following these ancient prejudices, being almost myopically focussed on the evidence of erotic curses in the discussion of gender in ancient magic, and rarely mentioning the subject in relation to the other categories of curses.³⁶ Admittedly, the debate has some admirable nuance, especially in Faraone's 'misandrist' model, which uses a close examination of the evidence to reverse ancient literary stereotypes of passionate, vindictive women. He divides erotic magic³⁷ into two sub-categories: that which produces *eros* (mad, uncontrollable lust), and that which produces *philia* (love and affection within an established relationship). The *eros*-producing magic was used predominantly by men to win the attentions of self-controlled and sedate women, whereas the *philia*-producing magic was employed by women to control the urges of their otherwise wild and passionate men.³⁸ Although the users of the two types of erotic magic in the ancient Greek material that Faraone studies are most often divided on the basis of their biological sex, where there are exceptions he sees clear evidence for the social construction of gender based on notions of 'masculine' social autonomy and 'feminine' subordination.³⁹ Socially inferior males, including patrons and freedmen, occasionally used 'feminine' *philia* magic to gain the esteem, friendship and goodwill of authority figures, and the economic and social autonomy accorded to courtesans in Greek

³⁴ Gordon, 2008, p. 87. For more on gender stereotypes and magic in the ancient world see Stratton, 2007.

³⁵ Dickie, 2000, pp. 577-578, 581.

³⁶ See especially Dickie, 2000; Winkler, 1990, pp. 71-98; Graf, 1997b, pp. 185-190; Faraone, 2001.

³⁷ Faraone includes a range of rituals in his analysis, including amulets, potions and ointments as well as curses inscribed on lead and other materials.

³⁸ Faraone, 2002, p. 416.

³⁹ Faraone, 2001, p. 159.

society placed them in a unique position to use traditionally 'masculine' *eros* magic in pursuit of new lovers.⁴⁰

Despite these detailed scholarly analyses of ancient Greek love magic, little attempt has been made to assess the impact of gender on the evidence of other curse types from elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world. In the area under study for this project there are only four curse tablets that fall into the erotic category, as will be discussed in Section 4.2.3, and so Faraone's model is of limited applicability. Gendered readings of the other tablets are virtually absent from scholarship, except for the occasional (and questionable) assumption about the motivations for women for seeking justice from the gods.⁴¹ This mirrors the lack of attention paid to women in the north-western Roman provinces in general, something that has been regularly lamented by scholars over the past few decades,⁴² and something that this study aims to reverse.⁴³

Another noticeable theme within literary mentions of curse tablets is that of fear. Despite the elite's attempts to mock binding spells as the detestable work of old women, there is nevertheless an admission of their efficacy. Pliny the Elder states quite categorically that "there is nobody who does not fear to be bound by dreadful curses,"⁴⁴ and they were often used as an excuse for failures, especially among orators.⁴⁵ As has already been mentioned, curse tablets appear, along with other fearful magical objects, in the house of Germanicus after his supposed murder, adding to the dread of the mystery surrounding the circumstances of his death. This fear among the elite male authors of the literary sources stems from the fact that the power of curse tablets stood in opposition to the established official power structures of Roman society, power that was guarded

⁴⁰ Faraone, 2001, pp. 146-147, 156-157.

⁴¹ Blänsdorf (2010a, p. 161) conjectures that one of the Mainz tablets (CTNW 299) was probably written by a woman on the basis that only a woman would wish death on someone who stole some items of jewellery. As well as being vaguely misogynistic, this conjecture is clearly contradicted by the tablet from Lydney Park – CTNW 145 – on which a man curses another man for the theft of a ring.

⁴² Little progress has been made since Allason-Jones (1989), as noted by Hill (2001, pp. 15-16), Baker (2003, pp. 141-142) and Revell (2010, p. 2).

⁴³ Gender and cursing is discussed in Section 5.2.3.

⁴⁴ *Defigi quidem diris precatationibus nemo non metuit.* HN 28.4.19.

⁴⁵ Cic., *Brut.* 217; *Lib.*, 1.243-50.

jealously by those same elite-male social groups.⁴⁶ As perceived guardians of 'correct' religious practice, it was in the interest of the elite to vilify or wilfully ignore rituals that challenged it, and to cast those who practiced them in the most negative light possible.

The level of fear surrounding curses explains why they, along with other magical practices, were almost always considered illegal in the ancient world. Bans against magic are found in various political treaties and law codes from Plato onwards, and almost invariably set out a death sentence for those suspected of injuring others in these ways.⁴⁷

The law codes were not the only places in which ideas about the place of magic in ancient society were discussed and defined. Many ancient authors expressed their opinions on magical beliefs and practices, either explicitly in discussions about the nature of religion and supernatural powers, or implicitly in discussions of what was – and was not – acceptable behaviour in these social contexts.⁴⁸ The concept of magic in the Roman world itself was heavily influenced by earlier Greek attitudes to a certain class of Persian priests: the *magoi*. In the Greek imagination these priests came to symbolise the ignorant, fearful religion of the Persians, and they were set against the superior religion of the Greeks.⁴⁹ This understanding of *magoi* as Persian priests seems to have come across into Latin (translated as *magi*) at least by the 50s BC, when it is used in this way by both Catullus and Cicero.⁵⁰ Over time the term came to be applied more specifically to druids, diviners, necromancers and witches, rather than Persians, in both Latin prose and poetry, again with negative connotations of upsetting the course of nature or rejecting proper religious observance.⁵¹ The biases of the elite male authorities is clear in this, as they had vested interests, as priests of the state cults, in maintaining control over Roman religious expression. Outside the elite it is much harder to know where the boundary between

⁴⁶ Gager, 1992, p. 24. The relationship between curses and Roman power structures will be discussed in Section 5.4.

⁴⁷ Pl., *Leg.* 11. 933a; Plin., *HN* 28.17; *Dig.* 48.3; Paulus, *Sent.* 5.23. 15-18; *Cod. Theod.* 9.16.11. For a more detailed discussion of magic in Roman law see Rives, 2011.

⁴⁸ There has been much scholarly debate over this. See, among others, Gordon, 1999a; Luck, 2000; Janowitz, 2001; Stratton, 2007.

⁴⁹ The *magoi* were bound up with the pejorative term *deisidaemonia* (superstition) from at least the fourth century BC (Gordon, 1999a; Bowden, 2008)

⁵⁰ Cic., *Leg.* 2.26; Catull., 90.

⁵¹ For more on the developments of the uses of the term *magus* see Dickie, 2001; Rives, 2010.

magic and religion was drawn, if at all. However, it has been suggested that the mass of the population, who saw religion as the guarantee of agrarian productivity and protection from evil and illness, would have been less likely to place moral judgements on rituals that were believed to be effective.⁵² Nevertheless, a number of scholars have followed the spirit of the definitions of magic outlined in the biased literary sources,⁵³ classifying magical rituals, and cursing in particular, as “like a fungus”,⁵⁴ a “perversion”⁵⁵ and “the very emblem of black magic”.⁵⁶

1.4: Modern Publications and Categorisation

Scholarly biases against magical practices have meant that objects such as curse tablets were relatively understudied until at least the 1980s, despite the publication of two seminal monographs around the turn of the last century. First, Wünsch published a collection of tablets that had been found in Attica,⁵⁷ followed, less than a decade later, by Audollent’s collection of tablets from across the Graeco-Roman world, including both Greek and Latin texts.⁵⁸ After Audollent, the corpus was split largely along the language divide. The corpus of Greek texts was updated by Kagarow in 1929 and then twice by Jordan, first in 1985 and then again in 2000.⁵⁹ The corpus of Latin tablets, which includes almost all of those studied in this thesis, was updated three times throughout the twentieth century, first by Besnier, then by Garcia Ruiz and finally by Solin.⁶⁰ It was not until the publication of Kropp’s collection that all the Latin texts found subsequently were brought together into one place,⁶¹ including those found at Bath and Uley. In the study area of this thesis it is from Britain that the best evidence comes, owing to the detailed publications of inscriptions in the annual journals of the Roman Society (in the *JRS* up to 1969 and in

⁵² Gordon, 2008, p. 89.

⁵³ Modern definitions of magic will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

⁵⁴ Luck, 2000, p. 204.

⁵⁵ Lambert, 2004b, p. 77.

⁵⁶ Graf, 1997b, p. 118.

⁵⁷ Wünsch, 1897.

⁵⁸ Audollent, 1904.

⁵⁹ Kagarow, 1929; Jordan, 1985; 2000.

⁶⁰ Besnier, 1920; Garcia Ruiz, 1967; Solin, 1968.

⁶¹ Kropp, 2008a.

Britannia from 1970 onwards). No equivalent exists for the continental provinces studied here, but new curse tablets from those areas do occasionally appear in journals such as *ZPE*, *Gallia* and *AE*. Kropp's collection was also published as a digital database, a first for curse tablets and hopefully a sign of things to come, as the fragmentary and often obscure state of publication can make studying them unnecessarily challenging. Some scholars have hinted at work being conducted on new, comprehensive corpora of the existing evidence, but nothing has so far been forthcoming.⁶² The texts written in Celtic, usually neglected by the classical scholars who have previously studied curses, have been collected together with other Celtic inscriptions in *RIG*, and have also been discussed by Mees.⁶³

After Audollent and Wünsch published their corpora there was a brief flurry of scholarly attention focussed on curse tablets, consisting of the publication of further tablets,⁶⁴ linguistic studies⁶⁵ and some discussion of ritual practices.⁶⁶ However, this activity soon dropped away, and apart from a general treatment by Preisendanz,⁶⁷ curse tablets were mostly neglected until at least the 1980s. With Jordan's update to the Greek corpus and the discovery of the tablets at Bath and Uley, scholars began examining these artefacts once again, and several large-scale interpretative works were produced.⁶⁸ This coincided with a rise in popularity of the study of wider magical beliefs and practices among historians and archaeologists,⁶⁹ as well as a new English translation of the *PGM*.⁷⁰ As a result, the study of curse tablets tended to be on a broad scale, considering the rituals as part of a long-term magical complex that was firmly grounded in the eastern

⁶² Solin's webpage claims that he and Jordan are working on one, but gives no indication of final publication date, and the webpage itself has not been updated since October 2007 (Solin, 2007). Gordon and Marco Simón (2010a, pp. 46-47) claimed that they were constructing an even more extensive database but, again, nothing has yet been forthcoming. Finally, there is another project at Magdeburg under the direction of Dreher, which is planning to create an online database of all curse tablets (Dreher, 2011).

⁶³ Mees, 2009.

⁶⁴ Collected in Besnier, 1920.

⁶⁵ For example Jeanneret, 1918.

⁶⁶ For example Sherwood Fox, 1912.

⁶⁷ Preisendanz, 1972. According to Jordan (1985, p. 151 n. 3), Preisendanz was also preparing a corpus of *defixiones*, but this never came to fruition.

⁶⁸ Faraone and Obbink, 1991; Gager, 1992; Ogden, 1999.

⁶⁹ Merrifield, 1987; Kotansky, 1994; Graf, 1997b; Luck, 2000; 2006.

⁷⁰ Betz, 1992. This expanded and improved on the earlier German translation by Preisendanz and Henrichs (1973-4).

Mediterranean. The general studies by scholars such as Gager and Ogden emphasised the continuity in cursing practice over time, which they argued changed only in the increased elaboration of formulas in the mid to late imperial period. This view has been compounded by the fact that most of the curses, and all of the magical papyri, were written in Greek and came from the eastern Mediterranean, and so the study of western, Latin cursing has been relatively ignored.⁷¹ This study aims to redress this imbalance, by giving full attention to the curses from the north-west in their own regional and local contexts.

Over the century or so in which curse tablets have been the object of scholarly attention they have been divided into categories using various criteria. Because we lack any detailed writing on the subject from the ancient world, the categories in use have been invented by scholars and are, as a result, artificial to a certain degree, and should not necessarily be thought of as divisions that were followed by the people who made the tablets themselves.

Perhaps the most significant categorisation employed by scholars to the curse tablets is the division of the corpus by motive. This was first done by Audollent,⁷² but most scholars now use the reworked scheme proposed by Faraone and Versnel, which gives five categories: commercial, erotic, competition (in athletics or other public performances), juridical and prayers for justice.⁷³ Within this scheme, Versnel has argued repeatedly for a clear demarcation between prayers for justice and curses relating to the other four motives, which he has termed “*defixiones* proper” or “binding *defixiones*”.⁷⁴ The accuracy and applicability of this scheme to the evidence for the north-west will be discussed in Chapter 4, but a few remarks are necessary here. These categories have been put together using the total corpus of known curses from the entirety of Graeco-Roman history, and so have less utility for smaller-scale studies with restrictions on chronology and geography. In the north-west, the vast majority of tablets with stated motive are

⁷¹ Although this has begun to change in the last decade or so, see Kropp, 2008b; Gordon and Marco Simón, 2010b; Gordon, 2013a.

⁷² Audollent, 1904, p. xc.

⁷³ Faraone, 1991, p. 10; Versnel, 1991a.

⁷⁴ Versnel, 2010 *passim*.

related to theft (112 of 134), putting them into the prayers for justice category with no further description. Also, 175 of the 312 curses collected for this study had no specified motive at all, meaning that the Faraone/Versnel categorisation scheme has little analytical power for more than half of the total. It is clear from this that the analysis of the motives behind cursing in the north-west needs re-examining, and in Chapter 4 I will do this in detail.

As well as the motivation behind the curse, scholars have also categorised the tablets on the basis of the written formulas included in the text. Especially after the second century AD the formulas became increasingly complex, and have therefore been broken down into their basic terms. This was done first for the Greek texts by Kagarow, and later adapted by Faraone.⁷⁵ The four basic categories from their works are as follows:

- Direct binding formulas, employing first-person singular verbs, e.g. “I bind X”
- Prayer formulas, invoking gods or demons to perform acts of binding, e.g. “Oh Mercury, restrain X!”
- Wish formulas, e.g. “may X be unsuccessful”
- *Similia similibus* formulas, employing persuasive analogies, e.g. “may X melt as this lead melts.”

It was not until Kropp’s work that the same task was attempted for the Latin texts and, perhaps unsurprisingly, she has noted some differences between the languages.⁷⁶ Her categories are:

- Manipulation formulas, including manual ritual actions, e.g. “I bind their tongues...”
- Committal formulas, which commit or give the victim to the deity
- Request formulas, i.e. instructions given to the deity or instructions without explicit addressees, e.g. “I would ask that...” or “may X burn”
- Curse formulas, e.g. “I curse X.”

⁷⁵ Faraone, 1991, p. 5, adapted from Kagarow, 1929, pp. 28-34.

⁷⁶ Kropp, 2010, pp. 370-372.

Although this work is useful on a linguistic level, it is perhaps less significant for the purposes of the aims of this study. Kropp's work on applying speech-act theory to these formulas will be discussed in Section 3.4, but ultimately I argue that scholarship needs to move beyond the exclusive focus on the words inscribed on the tablets to consider the people who actually carried out the inscribing, as well as the other ritual actions that went into producing a curse tablet. The focus throughout this study will be on the places, communities and people that were involved in the cursing ritual, as well as on the ritual actions themselves, rather than on the details of the language used on the tablets.

An important factor in the ongoing discussions over the classification of curse tablets is whether they are considered to be magical or religious objects. The debates about the relationship between religion and magic have a long history, being identified as two distinct categories at least two hundred years ago. Many of the most prominent thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries contributed to the debate, including Marx, Engels, Frazer and Levi-Strauss.⁷⁷ Much of the debate has centred on the problem of how to define magic, and whether it should be considered separate from or part of 'proper' religion. Frazer saw it as a primitive form of belief concerned with coercion and control that gave way to organised religion as civilisation evolved and gave more meaning to the world around it.⁷⁸ More recent scholars have rejected the idea of magic and religion as separate entities that exist apart from each other, some even going so far as to call for the abandoning of the term 'magic' entirely.⁷⁹ Versnel's 1991 article argues that at least in relation to the study of the ancient Mediterranean, the two are inextricably intertwined, and therefore scholars cannot wholly do away with the term 'magic' without surrendering their ability to discuss the topic completely.⁸⁰ Other scholars have built on this, creating models whereby magic can be viewed not as peculiar and separate from religion, nor as an undifferentiated aspect of religion, but as a distinct but integral part of it.⁸¹ Smith's model of religion 'here', 'there' and 'anywhere' conceptualises ancient magic as the religion of

⁷⁷ See Cunningham, 1999 for an overview of the theories of these and many others.

⁷⁸ Frazer, 1922, pp. 48-60.

⁷⁹ See Petterson, 1957 and, more recently, Otto, 2013.

⁸⁰ Versnel, 1991b, pp. 184-187.

⁸¹ Noegel *et al.*, 2003, p. 11.

‘anywhere’; drawing fluidly on elements from both religions of ‘here’ (domestic religion) and religions of ‘there’ (civic and state religions), to create something that at times imitates and at other times reverses the norms of the other two.⁸² This makes it impossible to clearly define the boundaries of magic as an abstract category, but suggests that it is a useful term for a limited set of phenomena when they are recognisable in the material.⁸³

Of particular relevance for the present study are the discussions of magic within the field of social anthropology. In the early 20th century both Evans-Pritchard and Malinowski challenged Frazer’s evolutionary model,⁸⁴ showing that, instead of being the hallmark of primitive societies, magical practices can be seen as rational responses to certain situations if analysed from within their cultural and social contexts. Building on this foundation, generations of social anthropologists have established that magical practices must be understood in terms of the circumstances in which they are used, and not according to any western ideas of rationality.⁸⁵ Anthropologists have shown that in societies where the belief in magic is endemic, it makes sense for people to search for supernatural causes of, and solutions to situations of misfortune. Douglas has argued that the nature and form of magical practices in different societies is determined by the ways in which those societies are constructed.⁸⁶ Societies with clear hierarchies and firm internal divisions, a category that would certainly include ancient Rome, tend to have practices that are based on knowledge of the power of material objects and spoken words, and that are geared towards the furthering of personal aims. Such practices are usually morally ambiguous within their social contexts, and therefore require some justification on the part of the practitioner. Often this comes in the form of an accusation of wrongdoing (real or imagined) levelled at the victim, which then makes the use of magic an attempt to seek justice or revenge.

The work of these anthropologists, combined with Smith’s ‘here, there and anywhere’ model for the relationship between magic and religion, has been influential on

⁸² Smith, 2003, p. 35.

⁸³ Noegel *et al.*, 2003, p. 12; Bremmer, 2015, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁴ Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Malinowski, 1922.

⁸⁵ The history of this branch of scholarship is examined in more detail in Section 4.3.4.

⁸⁶ Douglas, 1973, pp. 169-171.

my own thinking on the subject, and I argue that by taking their insights into consideration new questions can be asked of the curse tablets studied in this thesis. The people who made curse tablets in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire did so by drawing creatively on the beliefs and practices common in their religious and social contexts, creating blurred boundaries between what could have been considered 'proper' religious actions and what could have been considered 'magical' practice. It is unlikely that the petitioners in the north-west were interested in, or even aware of, the debates over the boundaries of acceptable religious practice among the elite at Rome. I will argue throughout this thesis that their concern was to create the most successful curse possible to address their own individual circumstances. To achieve this, they took inspiration from the world around them at the time of ritual performance, and were influenced by the social relationships and structures in which they were embedded.

1.5: Methodology and Theoretical Approach

Having provided an overview of the various approaches to cursing rituals in both the ancient world and modern scholarship, I will now outline the scope of the present study, including how it fits into these contexts. At the heart of this study is an emphasis on the actions of individual people, situated within the physical and social contexts in which they occurred. Rather than conceptualising curse tablets as either static inscriptions to be mined for linguistic data, or as evidence that contributes to the construction of a definition of 'magic' in the ancient world, this study takes them as they are: attempts by individual people to address real-world situations that were having a considerable impact on their everyday lives. I will argue throughout the subsequent chapters that context should be central to scholarly understanding of ancient cursing rituals, both in terms of the places in which these rituals were performed and also in terms of the social knowledge, understanding and relationships that informed, defined and triggered them. As such, the overarching research question at the centre of this study is: "what was the social significance of curse tablets in the Roman north-west?"

This study is limited to the curse tablets found in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire during the imperial period. Partly these limits have been set for reasons of space, as it would require a much longer study to analyse all of the known curse tablets in this manner. However, the spatial and temporal limits have been primarily set for other, more significant reasons. As will be demonstrated throughout this study, the people of the north-western provinces developed their own traditions of cursing, which had only very little in common with traditions developed elsewhere in the Roman Empire, particularly the Greek East. This makes the curses from the north-west a prime case study for the kind of contextual analyses for which I will be arguing, as the beliefs and practices that existed in the north-west vary considerably and depend on local conditions.

1.5.1: Methodology

To make analysis possible, data for this thesis has been gathered together from a number of separate sources into a single electronic database.⁸⁷ As already mentioned, there exists no comprehensive or up-to-date collection of curse tablets from the ancient world, and no single publication in which new discoveries are made available. However, smaller published collections and databases do exist, and these have formed the basis of the current work.⁸⁸ To be included in the database the curses had to be from one of the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire,⁸⁹ and be securely datable to between the first and fifth centuries AD. They also had to align broadly with Jordan's definition of curse

⁸⁷ Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ The starting point for collecting the Latin tablets in my database was Kropp, 2008a, representing the most recent attempt to collect the known curses in one place. The other places where tablets have been published are listed above. There are no unpublished tablets included in the database, although I am aware of some, particularly those from Piercebridge (Walton, 2008 and pers. comm.), Le Mans (Chevet *et al.*, 2014 and pers. comm.) and Tisbury (David Roberts, pers. comm.) that are awaiting analysis. The tablets from Springhead, Kent (Schuster, 2011, p. 270ff) have not been included as, although they certainly seem to be of some magical nature, they appear to be uninscribed, leaving their exact nature in question. I have included as many of the Uley tablets as possible, based on Tomlin's work since the preliminary report appeared over 20 years ago (Tomlin, 1993). Some have been published in full, whereas others have received passing mentions or brief quotes. From this work it was possible to include 41 of the reported 140 finds from the site. See the individual entries in Appendix 1 for full bibliographies.

⁸⁹ *Britannia, Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Belgica, Gallia Lugdunensis, Germania Inferior and Germania Superior*. I have also included *Gallia Narbonensis* because the curses from Larzac and Amelie-Les-Bains have more in common with patterns from the other north-western provinces than from places further south.

tablets, quoted above.⁹⁰ I have included the curses written in Celtic alongside the Latin texts, as well as some uninscribed tablets that were found alongside inscribed examples, as long as some kind of ritual action (piercing, folding, rolling etc.) had been performed with or on it. With these restrictions in place, the total number of curses collected into the database comes to 312.⁹¹ In total, the number of find sites across the seven provinces included in the survey is 69 (Table 1 and Figure 2).⁹² Of these, only five sites produced more than 10 curses, with the vast majority being single finds. Although not immediately visible from the list of sites, when seen at a provincial level, it becomes clear that the majority of north-western curses come from Britain (Table 2).

Province	Find Site	No. of Tablets
Britannia		
	Bath	117
	Uley	41
	London	8
	Pagan's Hill	3
	Ratcliffe-on-Soar	3
	Leicester	2
	Leintwardine	2
	Aylesford	1
	Brandon	1
	Brean Down	1
	Broomhill	1
	Caerleon	1
	Caistor St. Edmund	1
	Chesterton	1
	Clothall	1
	Dodford	1
	East Farleigh	1
	Farley Heath	1
	(Gloucestershire Or Avon)	1
	Hamble Estuary	1
	Hockwold-cum-Wilton	1
	Kelvedon	1
	Lydney Park	1
	Malton	1

⁹⁰ Exceptions have been made on the material of the curses for those written on lead alloys, other metals and ceramics, where the inscription conforms to the rest of the definition.

⁹¹ The entire database can be seen in Appendix 1.

⁹² For the purpose of the map in Figure 2 I have used the total number of known curses from Uley (140), rather than the 41 published examples included in the database.

	Marlborough Downs	1
	Old Harlow	1
	Puckeridge-Braughing	1
	Rothwell	1
	Silchester	1
	(Southern Britain)	1
	Thetford	1
	Towcester	1
	Wanborough	1
Gallia Aquitania		
	Chagnon	2
	Chamalières	1
	Dax	1
	Le Mas-Marcou, Le Monastère	1
	Les Martres-de-Veyre	1
	Lezoux	1
	Murol	1
	Rom	1
Gallia Belgica		
	Trier	25
	Arlon	1
	Deneuvre	1
	Maar (Trier-Nord)	1
Gallia Lugdunensis		
	Évreux	2
	Autun	1
	Bernières-Sur-Seine	1
	Châteaubleau	1
	Le Mans	1
	Lyon	1
	Quartier Saint-Marcel	1
Gallia Narbonensis		
	Amelie-les-Bains	7
	L'Hospitalet-du-Larzac	1
	Montfo	1
	Pontaix	1
Germania Inferior		
	Cologne	1
	Bodegraven	1
Germania Superior		
	Mainz	35
	Bad Kreuznach	11
	Groß-Gerau	2
	Frankfurt	2

	Avenches	1
	Roßdorf	1
	Rottweil	1

Table 1: Find sites and number of curse tablet finds sorted by province

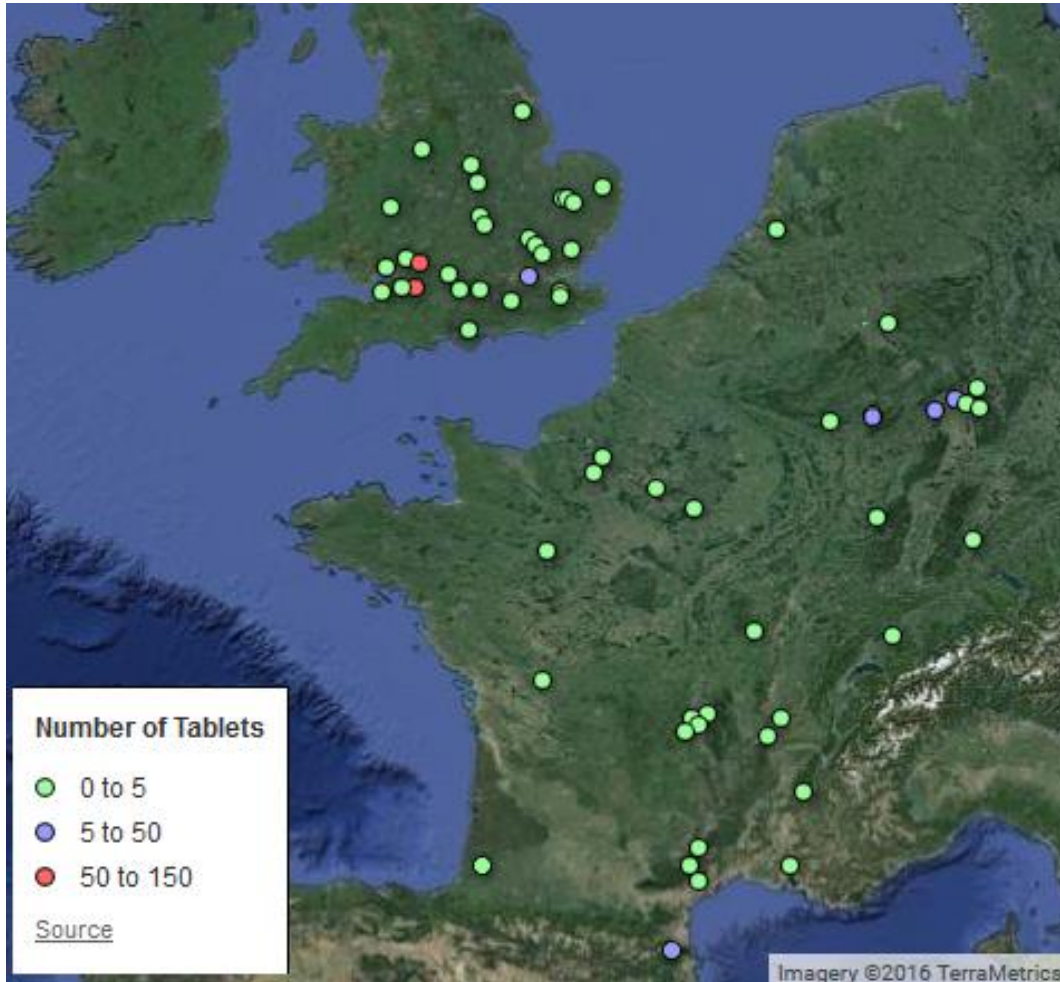


Figure 2: Distribution map of curse tablet finds in the north-western provinces.

Province	Number of tablets
Britannia	202
Gallia Aquitania	9
Gallia Belgica	28
Gallia Lugdunensis	8
Gallia Narbonensis	10
Germania Inferior	2
Germania Superior	53

Table 2: Number of tablets in Appendix 1 from each province.

Context	Number of Tablets
Temple	201
Spring	128
Grave	28
Amphitheatre	26
Unknown	24
House	8
Pit/Well	6
River	5
Fort	3
Beach	2
Bath House	2
Road	1

Table 3: Number of tablets by context.

The research questions that this study is aiming to answer are focussed on the contexts of cursing rituals, and so the database includes contextual information such as associated finds and ritual manipulations of the tablet (rolling, folding and nailing). I have also recorded writing styles such as boustrophedon or reversal of letter forms, as well as my own observations gained through handling some of the original tablets.⁹³ All of this information was collected to aid in the reconstruction of the sensory experience of conducting cursing rituals, and will be discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

When the find contexts were analysed, 11 specific types were identified: spring, temple, grave, amphitheatre, house, river, pit/well, fort, beach, road and bath-house (Table 3). There is some overlap, most notably concerning the Bath tablets, which can be said to have come from both a temple and a spring context, and are therefore counted in both categories. Even with this in mind, the predominance of deposition in temples, graves, amphitheatres and watery places in the north-western provinces aligns the practices here with broad trends in similar practices from across the Graeco-Roman world. The only caveat to this is that the gods worshipped in the temples where curses

⁹³ I was able to handle some of the tablets from Bath and Trier at the museums where they are held.

were deposited in the north-west were not chthonic in nature,⁹⁴ nor were such figures regularly invoked on tablets deposited elsewhere, as was more common on Greek curses.⁹⁵

Many curse tablets have been found by metal detectorists, especially in Britain where the practice is increasingly popular.⁹⁶ Although the Portable Antiquities Service (PAS) seeks to collect and publish artefacts found in these circumstances, the reality is that metal detector finds are often divorced from their archaeological context and any information that could have been gained from professional excavation. This is also true for earlier antiquarian activities, and tablets known from both of these sources have been categorised as 'unknown'. This category also contains tablets found by professional archaeologists where no other context could be determined.

In part because of antiquarian and metal detectorist involvement, dating curse tablets is notoriously difficult. Very few come from securely-datable archaeological contexts, and so it is often the case that only very approximate dating can be given, usually based on palaeography. It is for this reason that the database gives the earliest and latest possible dates for each tablet, rather than firm, precise dating. Even from this rough dating it seems that cursing was most popular in the north-western provinces between c.AD 150 and c.AD 300 (Figure 3).⁹⁷ However, it is unclear how much can be concluded from this observation, as it is disproportionately influenced by the huge numbers of finds from Bath and Uley.

⁹⁴ Sulis Minerva at Bath, Mercury at Uley, Mater Magna at Mainz.

⁹⁵ On the relationship between Greek curses and the gods of the dead see Johnston, 1999.

⁹⁶ Metal detecting is illegal in Germany so finds from there are never reported, and there is no equivalent to the PAS in any of the other modern countries in the geographical area of this study. The uneven situation that this creates has undoubtedly made an impact on the evidence available for this study, but unfortunately there is no way to avoid it.

⁹⁷ Each vertical line on Figure 3 represents one curse tablet, and extends from the earliest to latest possible date for the specific tablet. The tablets are ordered by the mid-point between earliest and latest date.

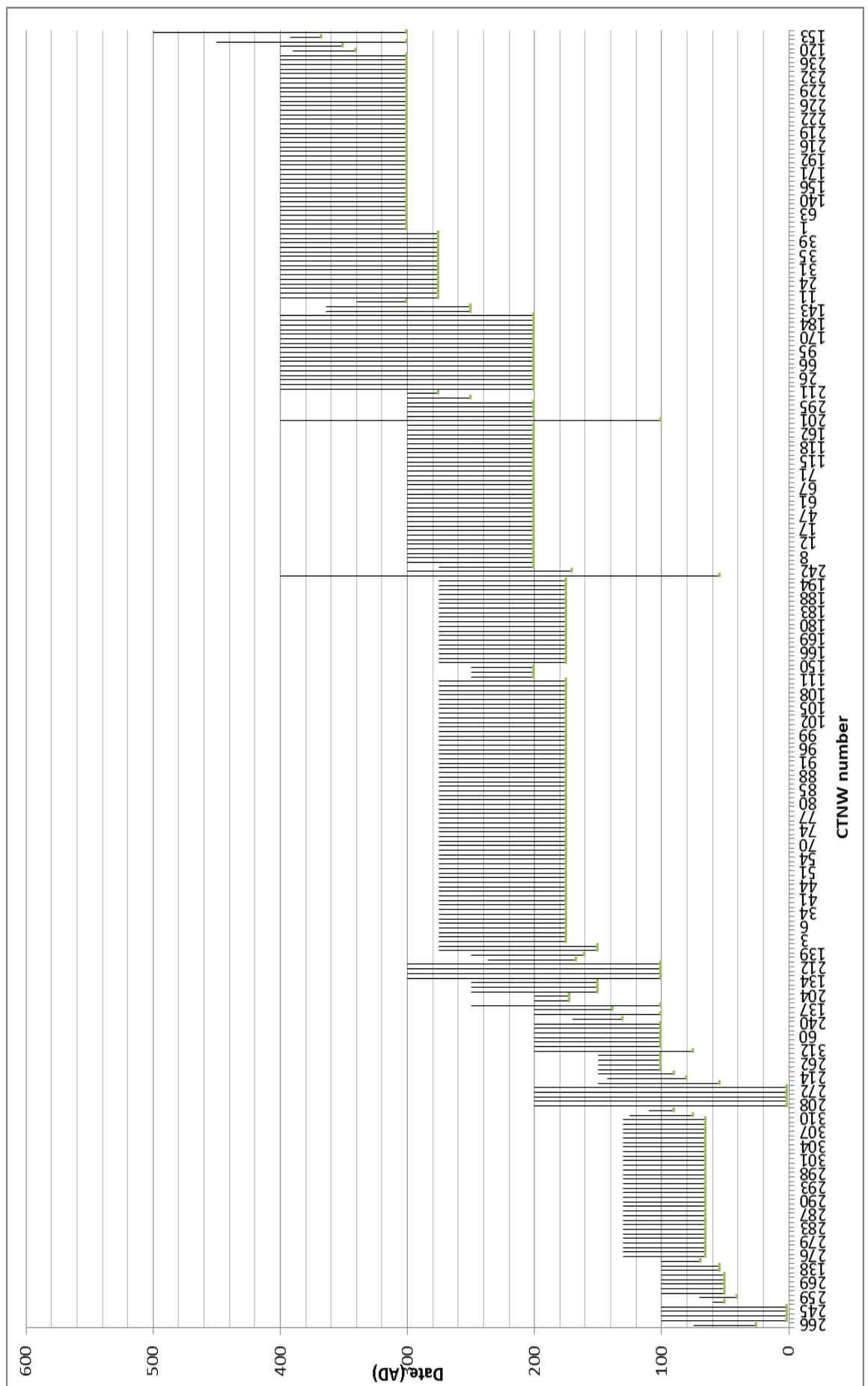


Figure 3: Curses from the north-west in chronological order.

As has already been discussed, it quickly becomes apparent that when studied in isolation from curses from the eastern Mediterranean, the north-western tablets do not neatly fit into the Faraone/Versnel motive categories without some further classification. The vast majority are prayers for justice, leaving very small numbers in the love and juridical categories, and none at all in the commerce and competition categories. As a result, the prayers for justice have been further broken down into specific motives, mostly regarding the theft of various objects (see Tables 4 and 5 in Chapter 4). The largest motive category – unspecified – is the result of a number of factors. Mostly the tablets in this category are those that were too fragmentary to identify a motive from the readable text, something that is a significant issue when studying curse tablets. The writing was often engraved very faintly into the lead, and taphonomic factors such as the degradation and corrosion of the lead itself also impact upon legibility. Those tablets which contain nothing apart from a list of names are also classified as having unspecified motives. Chapter 4 will contain a more detailed discussion of the motive categories, including a breakdown by geographical area.

Alongside the database table containing all of the information about each tablet, a separate but related table was created for all of the personal names mentioned on the curses.⁹⁸ As there are many tablets that include several names, some as many as 20, this separate table was found to be indispensable for keeping the table of tablets as concise as possible. Overall there were 532 names on the tablets, and each name was categorised according to gender, language of origin, social status and role in the curse (petitioner, victim, patronymic, matronymic or patron). The data gained from them will be analysed in detail in Chapter 5.

1.5.2: A note on translations

As the exact language of the texts is not the focus of this study, it has not been necessary to provide new readings of the curses, nor have I attempted to contribute to the fierce

⁹⁸ Appendix 2.

scholarly debates that have raged over the interpretation of certain tablets. Nevertheless, for ease of reference all of the tablets collected in this study have been given an English translation where possible. Where available and reliable, I have used English translations produced by other scholars, and this was the case for most of those found in Britain.⁹⁹ I have also taken into account where readings and translations have been refined and challenged in subsequent publications.¹⁰⁰ For the tablets published either in other modern foreign languages or the original Latin I have produced an English translation based on the readings given in the original and subsequent publications.¹⁰¹ My inclusion of the Celtic curses into this study is rare among those who have studied cursing in the Roman world. Although their inclusion has been vital in creating a complete picture of cursing in the north-west it has created a number of problems. These tablets have been debated and discussed in minute detail by Celticists, creating extensive bibliographies for each individual tablet, and generating heated academic discussions. In these instances I have taken the *RIG* to be authoritative and I have therefore provided an English version of the *RIG*'s French translations where possible, except where the translations of other Celticists have differed substantially, in which case I have reproduced the range of possibilities.

1.5.3: *Theoretical background*

Although the collection of curses in a database has been an invaluable outcome of this study, it is with the interpretation of the objects that it is most concerned. In the past interpretation of the tablets has almost always been done as part of a synthesis of a wide-ranging, large-scale magical complex that developed across the Graeco-Roman world between the fifth century BC and fifth century AD. Parallels have been made between the north-western texts and tablets made hundreds of miles away and hundreds of years apart, with only a cursory concern demonstrated for the particular contexts in which the

⁹⁹ This study is indebted to the past and ongoing work of Tomlin in reading, editing and publishing so many of the curse tablets from Roman Britain. Working on these objects would be unimaginably more difficult without his efforts. Any errors in reproduction are, of course, my own.

¹⁰⁰ Like, for example, the article by Adams (1992), which refined Tomlin's translations of the Bath tablets. All sources for original and subsequent translations are marked in the database.

¹⁰¹ New English translations are indicated as such in Appendix 1.

individual tablets were made. Challenging this analysis is the central aim of this study, and it is one of the themes that run through each of the following chapters. The interpretations I present are firmly grounded in ongoing theoretical debates within ancient history and archaeology; these have rarely been considered in previous studies of curse tablets, not to mention those of magical practices in general.

The fundamental basis of this study is to develop a greater appreciation of the individual petitioners, and the beliefs, surroundings and interpersonal relationships that influenced – and were influenced by – the cursing rituals that they performed. The focus is on the experience of these individuals acting from within their social contexts and at a particular time and place. As such, I have drawn on a variety of theoretical discussions to interpret the north-western curse tablets in new ways. I have not restricted myself to one specific body of theory, but instead have embraced the “theoretical pluralism” that scholars such as Meskell have suggested is necessary for robust contextual archaeology.¹⁰²

The theoretical starting point of this study comes from modern religious studies. In the past few decades of study in this academic field scholars have been moving increasingly further away from older ‘world religion’ models, and instead have been paying more attention to the actions and experiences of individuals in particular contexts. From these developments have come two related strands of theory: vernacular religion and lived religion.¹⁰³ At the heart of these arguments is the contention that religion should not be viewed as a monolithic entity, preserved in sacred texts and then blindly reproduced by unthinking believers. Views such as this were influenced by the dominance of Christianity in Western culture, and have institutionalised the religion of elites and others in positions of authority while also marginalising the lives of ordinary believers.¹⁰⁴ Instead, models of religion have been built that show how the actions and experiences of individuals produce and reproduce religious systems, influenced by a myriad of factors including the natural

¹⁰² Meskell, 2007, p. 35.

¹⁰³ See, among others, Primiano, 1995; McGuire, 2008; Bowman and Valk, 2012; Primiano, 2012; Sutcliffe and Gilhus, 2013b.

¹⁰⁴ Primiano, 1995, p. 39.

world, community affiliations, tradition, education, political and economic conditions and so on. Using these models, religion becomes a fluid, multi-faceted and diverse concept, grounded not in philosophical or theological debates but in the practical lived experiences of individual people, with fundamental connections to the social contexts in which they live.¹⁰⁵

These movements in religious studies have not gone unnoticed by scholars of the Roman world. Several projects directed by Rüpke at the University of Erfurt have been influenced by lived and vernacular religion, and a series of publications,¹⁰⁶ including the founding of a new journal to promote new perspectives on Roman religion,¹⁰⁷ have already begun to apply these theories to the ancient evidence. In particular, Rüpke and others have challenged the traditional view of ancient religion as being divided between public *polis* worship on the one hand, and ‘cults’ on the other.¹⁰⁸ Instead, the focus of their work has been on the actions of ancient individuals, situated within social contexts and firmly located in time and space.¹⁰⁹ The theoretical work has been applied to a diverse range of evidence, including cult-founding mystagogues,¹¹⁰ Attic votive inscriptions¹¹¹ and the letters of Pliny,¹¹² but rarely using evidence for ancient magical practices. The only scholar to apply this kind of theoretical model to magical evidence directly is Goldberg, who used vernacular religion to question the established views on religious syncretism in the north-western provinces, using the temple at Bath as a case study.¹¹³ In his paper, Goldberg argues that, when analysed through the lens of vernacular religion, the curse tablets from Bath form part of an ongoing process of local adoptions and adaptations of wider beliefs and practices to suit their specific circumstances.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁵ McGuire, 2008, p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ Rüpke, 2012; Rüpke and Spickermann, 2012b; Rüpke, 2013; Rüpke and Woolf, 2013; Rüpke, 2015.

¹⁰⁷ Rüpke and Raja, 2015.

¹⁰⁸ Rüpke, 2012, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁹ Rüpke and Spickermann, 2012a, pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁰ Gordon, 2013b.

¹¹¹ Muñiz Grijalvo, 2013.

¹¹² Rosenberger, 2012.

¹¹³ Goldberg, 2009.

¹¹⁴ Goldberg, 2009, p. 193. Revell (2007, p. 221) has made a similar argument, although without specifically naming vernacular or lived religious theory.

All of this work to uncover the individual lived experience behind the evidence for religious beliefs and practices is part of much wider movements in archaeological, classical and ancient historical scholarship, which are increasingly putting considerable emphasis on individual experience and agency in the past. These movements have been influenced by theoretical developments in other fields, especially sociology and anthropology, and although they have not met with universal approval, they have nevertheless made a significant impact on the ways in which scholars have interpreted the archaeological record. In prehistoric archaeology these movements have seen the introduction of phenomenological thinking, which characterises humans as beings-in-the-world, and therefore inseparable from the environments in which they live and act.¹¹⁵ From this line of thinking has developed a growing field of sensory studies in archaeology, which has a very strong following within Roman archaeology. Scholars such as Betts and Hamilakis have advocated a multi-sensory approach to interpreting life in the Roman period, not only through the traditional five senses but a much wider sensorium that also interacts with memory and material objects.¹¹⁶

Another strand of these wider movements has been in the study of cultural change in the Roman provinces, particularly Roman Britain, Gaul and Germany. For much of the twentieth century the dominant model of the processes by which these changes occurred was that of Romanisation.¹¹⁷ This model suggested that superior Roman culture was imposed on the native inhabitants of the provinces by the conquerors, giving them a new material culture, language, urban lifestyle and religion.¹¹⁸ Millett made significant changes to the Romanisation model in the 1990s, in that he gave the native elites a leading role in the process through their emulation of Roman elites and the adoption of new symbols and mechanisms of power to enhance their own prestige.¹¹⁹ However, at around the same

¹¹⁵ Phenomenological archaeology will be discussed further in Section 2.1.

¹¹⁶ Betts, 2011; Hamilakis, 2014.

¹¹⁷ What follows here is not a detailed review of the century of scholarship on Romanisation, nor is it intended to be one. Plenty of such reviews have been written over the past twenty or thirty years, and there would be little value in producing another. What is offered here is a brief outline of the debates, intended as a background to the theoretical foundation of the present study.

¹¹⁸ Haverfield, 1923.

¹¹⁹ Millett, 1990. This was followed by others, including Woolf (1997; G. Woolf (1998)) and King (1990b).

time it became clear to many other archaeologists that the Romanisation model had been heavily influenced by the experience of modern European imperial systems, especially the British Empire, which had taken considerable inspiration from the Roman past, and therefore was in need of reassessment in the “post-colonial age.”¹²⁰ Scholars such as Hingley, Mattingly and Webster used developments in the study of post-colonial Africa and America to inform a greater appreciation of individual agency in cultural change at all levels of Roman provincial society.¹²¹ At the core of this line of argument lies the contention that native people do not passively accept the culture brought in by their imperial conquerors, but instead adopt and adapt certain aspects to fit their own needs in their own specific contexts.¹²² Scholars have given these processes various names based on theoretical models proposed in other disciplines, including creolisation, bricolage and globalisation, and the study of these contentious issues has been characterised by increasing fragmentation and a high turnover of theoretical ideas.¹²³ Nevertheless, most of these various theoretical approaches are aimed at appreciating the role of individual actors in the construction and maintenance of provincial culture, through the ways in which they cooked, worshipped, dressed and farmed,¹²⁴ or, to put it in more general terms, the ways in which they lived their lives.

It is in this ever-widening field that this study is set. As noted above, the study of curse tablets and other magical rituals have rarely, if ever, been informed by the most recent theoretical discussions in Roman archaeology. The root cause of this is that curse tablets have predominantly been conceptualised as written texts, and therefore tend to be analysed in the same way as other epigraphic evidence for religious belief and practice in the Roman world. At the same time, wider theoretical discussions have mostly passed over the evidence provided by curse tablets. There are several possible explanations for this, but perhaps the most likely cause is the lingering discomfort among scholars over studying beliefs and practices that have been thought of as illicit, superstitious or weird.

¹²⁰ Webster, 1996, pp. 2-4.

¹²¹ Webster and Cooper, 1996; Mattingly, 1997; Webster, 2001; Mattingly, 2004; Hingley, 2005.

¹²² Hingley, 1996; Webster, 1997a.

¹²³ Discussed most recently by Gardner, 2016.

¹²⁴ Cool, 2006; Revell, 2009; Rothe, 2009; Taylor, 2013.

Curses did not fit into older Romanisation models, which conceptualised cultural changes in the provinces as positive movements towards more ‘civilised’ forms: a category that clearly did not include magical practices. When religion was considered at all by scholars who espoused such views, they tended to focus on the changes in temple forms and iconography, and emphasised the “integration of the provinces into an Empire-wide religious system”.¹²⁵ Counter-Romanisation arguments have also tended to skip over magical evidence, to directly challenge the older interpretations of these architectural or iconographic changes.¹²⁶

Throughout this study I will confront these two situations: the lack of theoretical depth to the interpretation of the social contexts of curse tablets, and the neglect of curse tablet evidence in informing wider theoretical debates. To address the first I will argue that the inscribed lead sheets I am analysing are merely the physical remnants of a ritual process, and that it is this process, and the people who carried it out, that should be the focus of our attention. It is my contention that, far from being manifestations of a general, pan-imperial magical tradition, the curse tablets from the north-west were the products of much more localised contexts. To address the second of these situations, I will demonstrate throughout the following chapters that the evidence provided by curse tablets has the potential to radically change scholarly understanding of life in the ancient world, and that as a result, scholars can no longer exclude them from their work.

1.5.4: Thesis outline

In Chapters 2 and 3 I will argue that the cursing rituals were influenced by the surroundings in which they were performed, using the phenomenological concept of humans as embedded beings-in-the-world. I will analyse the five main sites of deposition in the north-western provinces, namely Bath, Mainz, Uley, Trier and Bad Kreuznach, and discuss the different experiences of conducting cursing rituals at each one. This discussion will involve not only the physical surroundings in which the curses were

¹²⁵ King, 1990a, p. 235.

¹²⁶ Webster, 1997b; 1997a.

created, but also the religious and social contexts of the sites and the wider surroundings. I will also discuss the ritual process in detail, revealing the importance of every movement, gesture and action that was involved in the creation of the curse tablets. In this discussion I will emphasise the fact that curse tablets are the end product of a complex ritual, with set patterns of meaningful actions that were just as important, if not more important, than the written words scratched onto the lead.

In Chapter 4 I will move on to examine the reasons why people in the Roman north-west used curse tablets. In doing so, curse tablets will be situated within the individual lives of the petitioners, rather than as static objects that can be classified by modern scholars. The motive categories that previous scholars have constructed will be shown to be unsatisfactory for a critical and nuanced analysis of the material, and I will use anthropological and ethnographic studies of more modern cultures to ask new questions of the ancient evidence. In doing this, cursing will be established as a part of local responses to situations of crisis and conflict, embedded in the social contexts of ongoing relationships, rivalries, gossip and rumour. Curse tablets gave individuals the ability to attack enemies from a position of secrecy, with the aim of harming the victim's public standing while simultaneously protecting their own.

The final substantial section, Chapter 5, sets out to examine the individual people involved in cursing in the north-west, to analyse how they constructed and expressed their social personas, and how they used the context of cursing to negotiate relationships within their communities. This will involve a close analysis of the names inscribed on the tablets, both victims and petitioners, to assess what kinds of people were conducting the rituals. I will use the concept of identity to analyse how petitioners identified themselves and their victims, and how this identification relates to wider uses of identity in the Roman north-west. The second half of Chapter 5 will focus on the concept of power, and the ways in which it relates to cursing rituals. Cursing will be put into the context of the power structures of the Roman provinces, both human and divine, and will also be discussed in

terms of how the rituals attempted to alter the power relations between petitioners and victims.

In the conclusion I will draw the various strands of these arguments together, and will summarise the contribution that these particular approaches to the evidence can make to scholarly understanding of the role that cursing played in Roman provincial society. I will also outline the scope for further study that could be made possible by building on the embedded, contextual approach taken in this study.

Chapter 2: Spatial Contexts for Cursing Rituals in the North-Western Provinces

2.1: Introduction

This chapter will look in detail at the places where curse tablets were created and deposited in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. It will consider the architectural and environmental contexts in which cursing rituals were conducted, and which undoubtedly had an impact on how curse tablets were understood by those who created them. As a basis for the exploration of these contexts, I will employ some recent developments in archaeological theory, especially those relating to phenomenology.

The places where people do things directly influence the way they do them. This central insight has guided the introduction of phenomenological thinking into archaeology over the past three decades, and has borne exceptionally valuable fruit when applied to interpretations of the lives of people in the past. The pioneering work of archaeologists such as Tilley and Thomas¹²⁷ has sparked fierce debate within the discipline, inspiring some but coming in for serious criticism from others.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, the argument that archaeologists cannot ignore the lived experience of past people is now well established, and has permeated many areas of the field. Phenomenology as a branch of philosophy was developed by various thinkers of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty. These scholars worked from the position that humans do not consist of separate entities of body and mind, as asserted by the dominant model laid down by Descartes in the seventeenth century and followed ever since. Instead, they proposed a model in which people exist wholly as beings-in-the-world, totally inseparable from the world in which they are embedded.¹²⁹ They argued that the human body does not collect sensory information to be sent for interpretation in a distant,

¹²⁷ Tilley, 1994; Thomas, 1996.

¹²⁸ A recent summary of both sides of the debate can be found in Johnson, 2012.

¹²⁹ For a detailed summary of Heidegger's philosophy and its implications for the interpretation of archaeological evidence see Thomas, 1996.

dislocated mind; instead, they suggested that physical experience and its interpretation coexist and happen simultaneously.¹³⁰ Humans are always already embedded in their world, which is continually brought into being through each individual's actions and experiences.

Phenomenological thinking was first employed in the interpretation of archaeological evidence within the field of landscape archaeology, and Tilley in particular has advocated the benefits of archaeologists experiencing ancient monuments and landscapes for themselves, in an attempt to recapture the sensory experiences of past people.¹³¹

Criticism has come from other scholars, who have questioned the relevance of the data collected in this way by white, male, middle-class, able-bodied archaeologists in the twenty-first century.¹³² Experience of moving through a landscape, and therefore also understandings of it, would differ for individuals based on their gender, age, disabilities and so on. It is dangerous to homogenise human experience, and we should be careful not to assume that everyone in the past experienced places and events in the same way as either their contemporaries or modern archaeologists.¹³³

Experience and memory are particularly absent from Tilley's brand of phenomenology, which evokes the sensory experience of a person engaging with the world for the first time.¹³⁴ A crucial development that has come out of criticism of his approach is the recognition that humans are fundamentally temporal. All their actions take place in a present, with memories of a past and intentions for a future, and it is important that this takes a central position in historical analysis, rather than investigating past events retrospectively and teleologically from our position of hindsight.¹³⁵ Past people had no idea that the objects they created would be analysed by historians and archaeologists, and this was not factored into their motives for producing them. Instead, they were produced for a

¹³⁰ Thomas, 1996, p. 18.

¹³¹ For example Tilley, 2008, in which he sets out the practical method of 'doing' phenomenological archaeology.

¹³² Hamilakis (2014, pp. 98-104) characterises Tilley's viewpoint as that of the walker or Rambler, rather than of a farmer or hunter.

¹³³ Brück, 2005, p. 59.

¹³⁴ Hamilakis, 2014, pp. 102-103.

¹³⁵ Thomas, 1996, p. 35; 40.

particular need in the present moment, using past experiences and memories as a guide, and with the intention of improving their future in some way. This is particularly pertinent when considering curse tablets, which were produced in response to a personal crisis – for example the theft of clothing or money – at a specific moment in the petitioner’s life.¹³⁶ By responding with a curse tablet, the petitioner had a plan for the future (both their own and the victim’s), which they were attempting to influence.

The focus of this chapter is therefore on the experience of conducting curse tablet rituals in certain locations. Places have meaning, not inherently or essentially, but constantly being defined and redefined by the actions that people undertake in them. This is a two-way relationship, especially in religious places, as they give meaning to rituals conducted in them at the same time that rituals give meaning to the places where they are acted.¹³⁷ As a result of this, the meanings of a place are not fixed, as different individuals experience and interpret places differently at different times.¹³⁸ The permutations of interpretation and interaction with a place are practically limitless, and are influenced by a wide range of factors including sensory perception (sightlines, smells, emotions etc.), seasonal or diurnal conditions, past experiences and memories, future intentions, social position (relating to unequal power structures dictated by gender, age, wealth and status) and so on. As this relationship is two-way, the petitioner’s specific understanding of their location at the moment they were conducting a cursing ritual must have had an impact on the ways in which they acted in that moment, as well as how they understood the things they were doing. This means that all activity conducted on each site, ritual or otherwise, had the potential to affect individuals in the specific moments in which they were engaged in cursing.

In order to examine this I will consider the experience of creating curses at the individual sites, in terms of the physical and cultural contexts, and assess these contexts for their significance in influencing the cursing rituals themselves. In taking this methodological approach to the material I will inevitably need to make some speculative

¹³⁶ Gordon, 2013a, p. 257.

¹³⁷ Revell, 2009, p. 116.

¹³⁸ Bender, 2006, p. 303.

interpretations of the sensory experience of creating curse tablets on these sites. As I have already mentioned, there are practically limitless ways in which people could have understood, interpreted and interacted with the situations they were presented with when conducting these rituals and it would be impossible for me to reconstruct them all. In what follows I will present what I argue are the most likely scenarios in each case, outlining the sensory experiences of conducting cursing at particular sites. Of course, alternatives to the circumstances I present were possible, and I will acknowledge these where appropriate.

The method used here is in direct contrast to the established scholarly tradition, which has seen curse tablets as part of an overarching magical construct of antiquity, and has therefore sought explanations for variation in curse tablets from surviving magical texts or in correlates separated by considerable time or distance. They are rarely considered in terms of the other activities that people engaged in at specific sites, even where curse tablets were made and deposited at religious places. This is because, as noted in the previous chapter, scholars tend to work from the premise that, in the words of Lambert, “magic is a perversion of official religion,”¹³⁹ and so, in the traditional scholarly view, even if curse tablets were deposited at temple sites they were only ‘allegedly’ addressing the same deity as the more ‘legitimate’ dedications. Therefore, they are not to be discussed with other religious actions, but rather must be taken separately, as befitting their ‘perverse’ nature. This standpoint creates circular logic: magical rituals are considered atypical because they are not included in the definitions of standard practice from the outset, thereby creating boundaries between standard and non-standard that are then reinforced by successive interpretations based upon those boundaries.¹⁴⁰ In what follows I will start from the total assemblage of the evidence itself, and will approach it without the bias of previous interpretations and classifications of ritual action, applying a phenomenological perspective to the evidence for the first time.

¹³⁹ Lambert, 2004b, p. 77.

¹⁴⁰ This circular logic has been noted by Sutcliffe and Gilhus (2013a, p. 2) in their recent study of modern New Age spirituality.

The focus of this chapter is on the five sites at which the largest quantities of curses have been found. The greater availability of evidence from these sites gives a better sense of ritual processes than the majority of locations, which have only produced one or two tablets. The five sites are Bath, Uley, Mainz, Trier and Bad Kreuznach.¹⁴¹ Not only have they all produced significant numbers of curses, but they also vary in location and function. Two are urban temples dedicated to popular deities (Bath and Mainz), one is a rural temple, also to a popular god (Uley), one is an amphitheatre (Trier) and the last is a cemetery (Bad Kreuznach). These five sites encompass almost all of the most popular locations for curse tablet deposition, not just within the study area but across the Graeco-Roman world as a whole, and I will argue below that variations within and between the cursing rituals at each site can be explained through appreciation of the physical, social and ritual contexts in which they were conducted.

2.2: Locations for cursing rituals

2.2.1: Bath

Bath is perhaps the best known site for curse tablet deposition in the north-west, in part because the publication of the curses from the sacred spring was one of the events that spurred the renewed interest in ancient cursing among classicists and archaeologists in the 1980s and 90s. Almost 30 years since their publication, the sheer number of tablets from Bath remains unrivalled by any other fully published site, further adding to its celebrity.¹⁴² In interpreting the finds from Bath we are also aided by decades of careful and well-documented archaeological excavation of both the temple and the bath complex that were constructed around the spring in the Roman period, providing a fairly complete understanding of the activities that were conducted at the site, as well as how they were managed and controlled during the successive building phases. The Roman layers of the sacred spring were first excavated in 1979-80 after contamination of the water

¹⁴¹ See Table 1 for the other find sites in the north-western provinces.

¹⁴² Both Uley and Piercebridge may ultimately surpass Bath in number, as both sites have preliminary totals of around 140 tablets. However, neither of these sites has been fully interpreted, so the numbers are likely to change drastically before final publication.

necessitated its draining.¹⁴³ The excavators found that because the spring constantly brings up sand, the finds were in unstratified deposits of continuous and mixed quicksand.¹⁴⁴ As a result, no absolute dating of the deposits could take place, but relative dating of some of the object types (for example the carved gemstones) has been possible based on stylistic typographies, and the curse tablets themselves can be tentatively dated to the period between the late second and late fourth centuries based on their palaeography.¹⁴⁵ The patterns of coin deposition have been established, showing an almost constant average of 37-48 coins per annum between the founding of the temple in around AD 70 and the middle of the fourth century.¹⁴⁶

There are three hot springs at Bath: as well as the main spring (known as the King's Bath) there are also the Hot Baths and Cross Baths. All three springs were known and venerated before the Roman conquest in around AD 43, as evidenced by pre-Roman coin deposition.¹⁴⁷ The three hot springs in the town were seen as a 'unified phenomenon,' and patterns of coin deposition across them were broadly similar in the first hundred years after the building of the temple and bath complex.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985, p. 21. The excavation uncovered "only a small percentage of the ritual deposit" (Cunliffe, 1988, p. 4), meaning that there could potentially be dozens, if not hundreds of curse tablets still in the spring.

¹⁴⁴ Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985, p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ Tomlin, 1988b, p. 85.

¹⁴⁶ This comes with the usual provisos relating to circulation and availability, but seems to broadly conform to the evidence of other coin hoards from Roman Britain. See Walker, 1988 for a detailed analysis of the numismatic data.

¹⁴⁷ Davenport *et al.*, 2007, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁸ Davenport *et al.*, 2007, p. 149. All three springs were seen as sacred to Sulis Minerva, as shown by inscriptions found at each one (Cross Bath: RIB 146, Hot Bath: RIB 150, King's Bath: RIB 143).

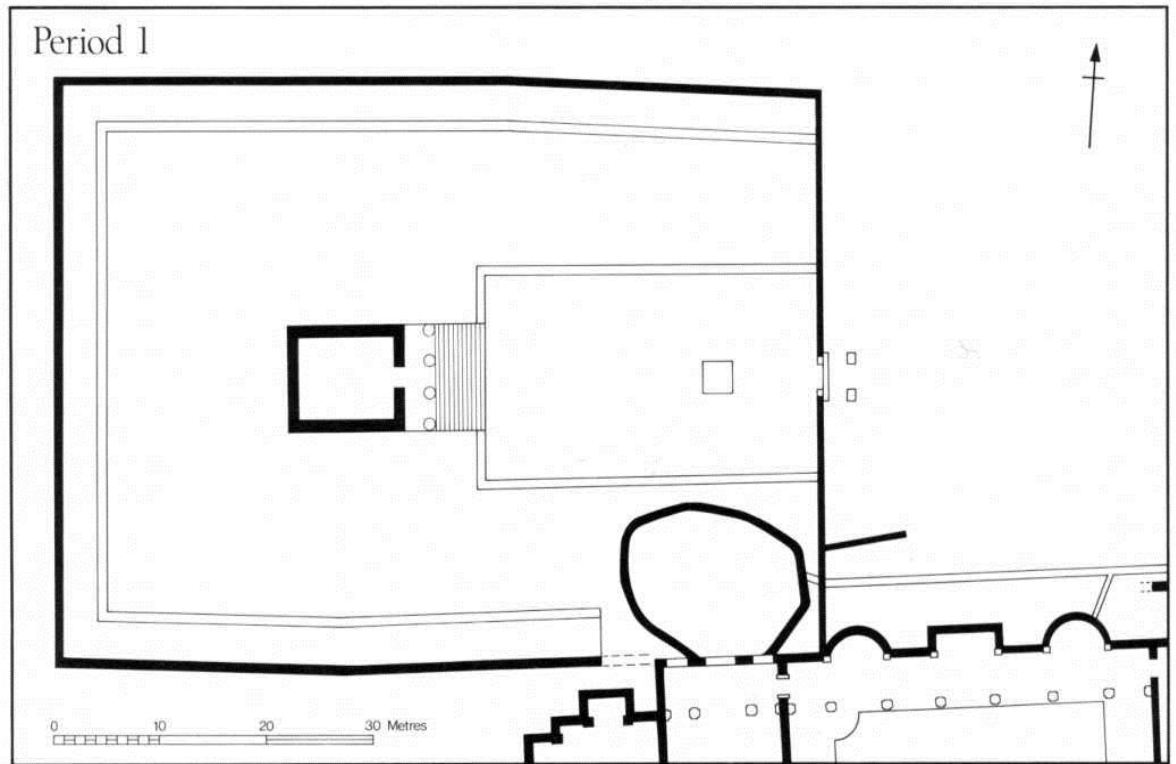


Figure 4: Period 1 of the temple complex at Bath. Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, p. 178, figure 100.

However, it was not until Bath became a Roman settlement that the site received large-scale attention in the form of permanent structures and systematic worship of the goddess, primarily at the King's Bath, and to a lesser extent at the other two springs. As with some other thermal springs in the Roman world,¹⁴⁹ the waters from the King's Bath were channelled into a large bathing complex consisting of a series of hot, tepid and cold pools. This was first built in the mid-late first century AD, probably around AD 70, at the same time as a large, classical-style temple dedicated to the goddess of the spring, Sulis Minerva. There may have been some military involvement in the construction (evidenced by brick stamps), and there may also have been links to a local client king Togidubnus, who had sided with Rome against the recently crushed Boudiccan revolt.¹⁵⁰ The town had no administrative function that we are aware of. Instead, judging by the dominance of the temple and bath complex in an otherwise small urban area, it is

¹⁴⁹ For examples see Yegül, 1992.

¹⁵⁰ Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985, p. 179; Henig, 1999, p. 419.

assumed that the primary role of the settlement was religious.¹⁵¹ The naming of the town *Aquae Sulis* further corroborates this.

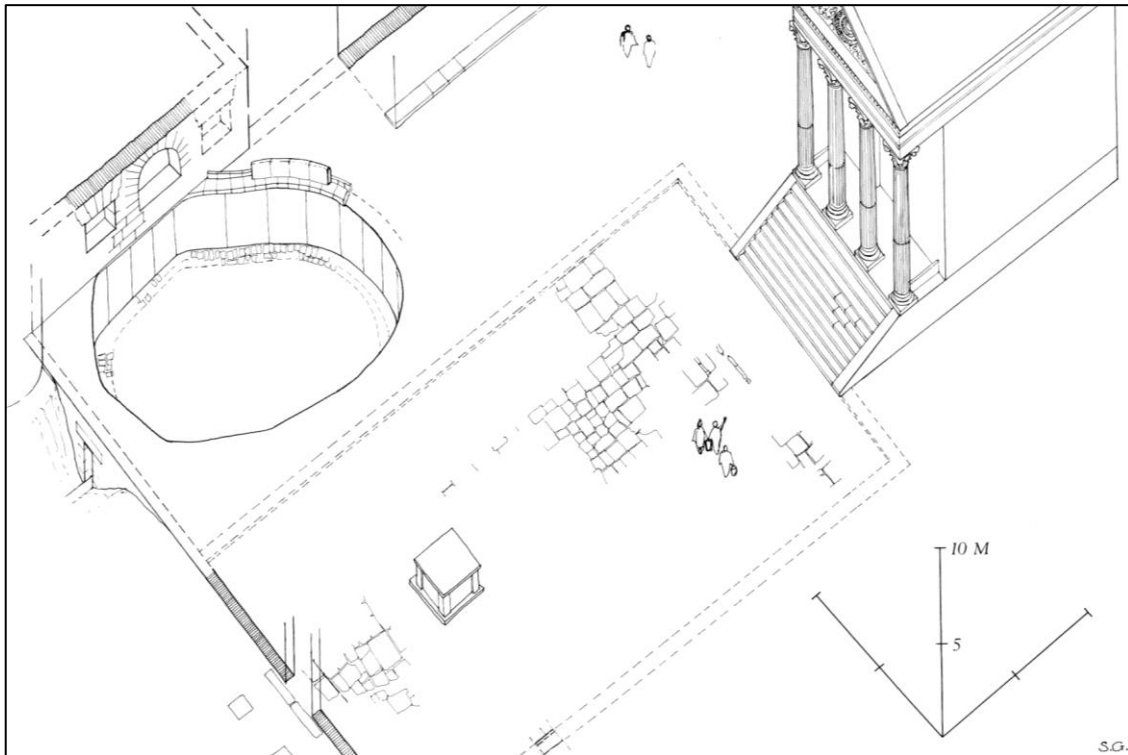


Figure 5: Axonometric drawing of period 1. Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, figure 110.

In the first phase of the temple building, the focal point upon entering the precinct was the monumental façade and the sacrificial altar that was located in front of it, both of which were situated within a paved open space which could accommodate large gatherings at peak festival times. The spring was open on all sides, and set within the temple precinct, although off to the side and separated from it by a step or stylobate (Figures 4 and 5).¹⁵² It was also visible from the baths by means of three symmetrical windows set in the adjoining wall. Deposition was just as possible from these windows as it was from the temple court. From the overall building configuration however, it is clear that it was the ritual of sacrificing animals that was both the architectural and religious focus of the place; the main temple was aligned on an axis with the altar, rather than the spring. The water did have a role, as a reminder to people of the presence of the deity they were worshipping in the temple, and also of any past experiences of bathing in the warm,

¹⁵¹ The complete lack of a forum, urban housing or a street grid within the walled area supports this statement too. Houses have been found to the north, where the road network converges (Dark, 1993).

¹⁵² Revell, 2009, p. 119.

healing waters of the baths next door. The steaming, bubbling spring would have been a constant testament to the natural power of the goddess, briefly channelled and contained by the works of humans, but never wholly mastered.¹⁵³

The spring was also the focus of individual offerings, especially of coins, the deposition of which seems to have been the predominant ritual undertaken by visitors to the site, possibly in thanksgiving for the healing power of the water. Over 12,000 Roman coins were recovered from the King's Bath, and when analysed, the rate of coin deposition was found to be consistently between 37 and 48 per annum up to the mid-fourth century.¹⁵⁴ Other items deposited in the sacred spring include gold, jet, copper and bronze jewellery, spindle whorls, wooden combs, pewter, bronze and silver vessels and three potential anatomical models consisting of two breasts (one ivory and one bronze) and a tin face mask.¹⁵⁵ 34 gemstones were also found in the spring, and it is possible that they were all deposited by the same jeweller at some point in the late first century, perhaps as either a request or as gratitude for help in successful business dealings.¹⁵⁶ This surviving evidence for ritual deposition may just be a small portion of what was actually dedicated; as Walker points out there were potentially hundreds or even thousands of dedications of perishable materials, such as wine, food, incense and plant materials, which have left no trace in the archaeological record, but which are known to have been a common part of Roman religious ritual.¹⁵⁷ The water of the spring is opaque, meaning that all dedicated objects vanish from view immediately on breaking the surface. This is significant for reconstructing the sensory experience of conducting rituals at the spring, in that we should not imagine a peaceful wishing-well analogy, with coins and other metal objects glistening at the bottom, but a dark and mysterious pool, heated by some inexplicable power below the earth.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Cousins, 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Walker, 1988, p. 283. This is not a huge number, but it should be remembered that not all of the ritual deposit was excavated, and so many more coins than this are likely to still be in the spring.

¹⁵⁵ Henig *et al.*, 1988.

¹⁵⁶ Henig *et al.*, 1988, pp. 27-33.

¹⁵⁷ Walker, 1988, p. 284.

¹⁵⁸ Cousins, 2014, p. 55.

As a sensory experience, this first building phase was characterised by a sense of openness and shared space within the confines of the *temenos* wall. Whether from the bath side or the temple side, the *cella*, raised as it was on its podium, would have dominated the space, and even those attempting to concentrate on venerating the spring would have been aware of its looming presence over their shoulder. Formal worship by the priests took place within a few metres of these more personal and private dedications and people depositing objects into the water may have been distracted by the sights, sounds and smells of other activities taking place in the precinct. We often forget that animal sacrifices must have been a serious assault on the senses, even for those used to witnessing it on a regular basis – the sounds of dying animals to the accompaniment of music and prayer, the sights of blood as well as the priests in their finery, and the smells of cooking meat, incense and the crowds of other people.¹⁵⁹ On days without official events, there may have been people generally milling around in the precinct, offering their own small forms of worship to the goddess or using it as a space to meet others. This could easily be as distracting as large-scale rituals for dedicants at the spring, as it would have created background sounds of talking or footsteps, as well as a general sensation of being on view. Weddle's exploration of the sensory experience of ancient blood sacrifice pointed out that the smell of animal blood and waste can linger in a space used for a sacrifice long after the ritual has concluded, and despite attempts at cleaning.¹⁶⁰ Petitioners at the Bath spring may therefore have been able to smell blood or faeces while offering goods even if there was no sacrifice being performed at the same time. These smells could have served as a prompt for memory, reminding worshippers of past experiences of rituals at the site.

¹⁵⁹ Weddle, 2013; Aldrete, 2014.

¹⁶⁰ Weddle, 2013, p. 54.

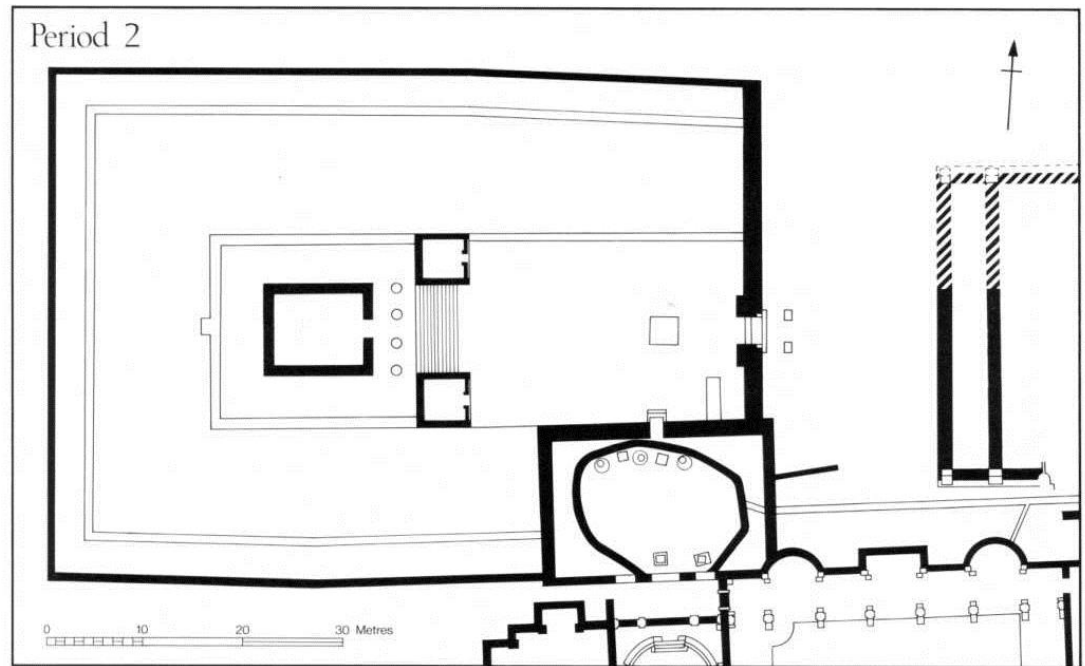


Figure 6: Period 2 of the temple at Bath. Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, p. 179, figure 101.

A significant change was made to the architectural design of the spring in the late second or early third century, which saw the spring enclosed behind walls and under a great barrel-vaulted ceiling (Figures 6 and 7). This was contemporary with a larger project of reroofing the entire bath complex, and was probably part of the same effort. The spring was now no longer accessible from the temple precinct, except through a small doorway. This door appears to have been used a great deal, as shown by the considerable wear on the threshold (Figure 8). However, it opened directly onto the extreme edge of the reservoir, making it a difficult squeeze into the new space created by the enclosing walls.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Cunliffe, 1969, p. 18.

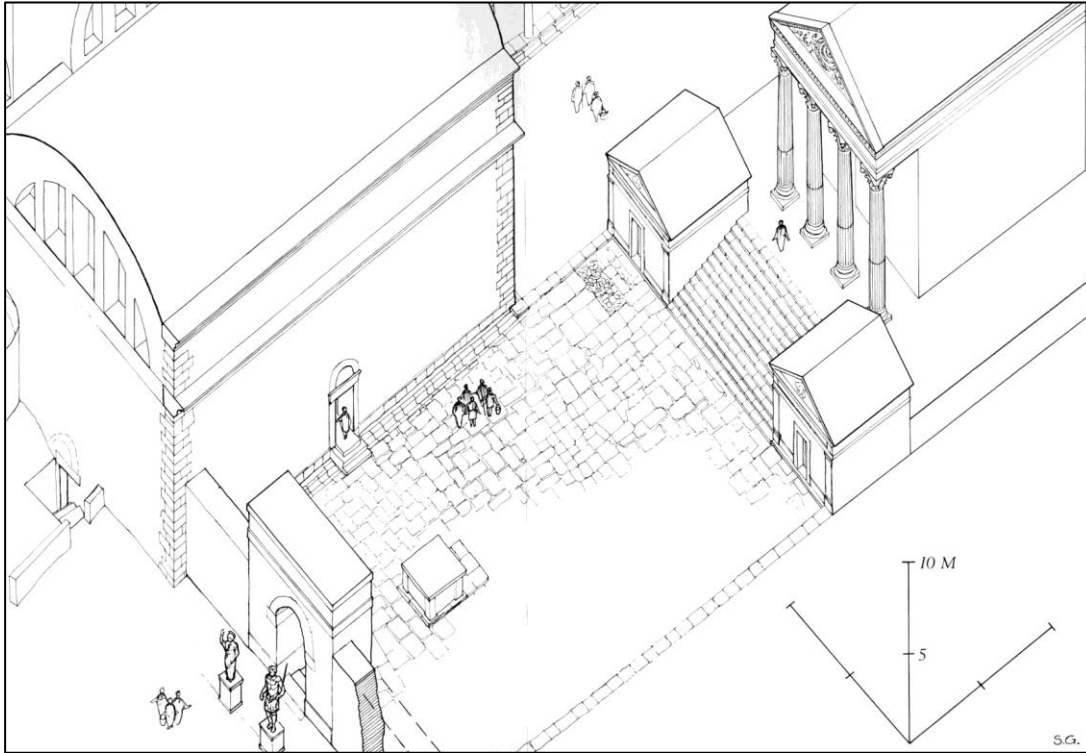


Figure 7: Axonometric view of period 2. Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, figure 111.

The windows that had looked onto the spring from the west wing of the bath complex were still open, but they were cut off from the baths themselves by new walls built between the pillars. This created an enclosed space with its own dedicated external door, and which eluded interpretation until the extent of devotional deposition was revealed by the excavation of the spring.¹⁶² The new arrangement makes sense if we consider it as a viewing and deposition gallery, as with its newly raised floor it gave much better access for deposition through the three large windows into the spring than the small doorway from the temple side. This is corroborated by the excavators of the spring, who proposed that the locations at which votive objects were concentrated within the spring suggested the majority were thrown through the windows.¹⁶³ The increasingly religious function of this area would have also been emphasised by the obstruction of viewing, hearing and smelling activities at the spring and temple from people enjoying leisure activities in the baths, and restricting them to those actively engaged in worshipping the goddess. From a phenomenological point of view, the restriction of sensory experience is

¹⁶² In 1954 Richmond (cited in Cunliffe, 1969, p. 105) described it as “completely obsolete.”

¹⁶³ Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985, p. 180.

incredibly important, and has been a major focus when interpreting prehistoric sites using phenomenological methods. For example, Tilley's new interpretations of Newgrange in Ireland and Tarxien in Malta emphasised how design and architecture influenced sensory experience by moving past analysis of birds-eye architectural plans and thinking about what people could see, hear, smell and touch when standing at certain points of the complexes.¹⁶⁴



Figure 8: The threshold into the sacred spring. Author's photograph.

When these ideas are applied to the changing situation at Bath, they illuminate new facets of the differences between the two phases. In the first architectural arrangement it had been possible for a bather to casually throw a coin into the spring or utter a brief prayer while walking past the windows. It was also possible for bathers to do neither of these things, and to walk past the sacred spring without acknowledging it at all. The new walls created a conscious separation between the activities of bathing and ritual deposition, and further distanced the bathers from the religious centres of the site by removing their sightlines to the temple and spring. The power of the goddess in the baths was now

¹⁶⁴ Tilley, 2007.

abstracted and hidden, relying on the bather's past experience or knowledge of what was behind the new walls (if they had any), rather than immediately appreciable through direct sightlines. Veneration of the spring through the windows was now not an optional action performed in a corridor on the way around the baths, but the focal point of an entire room. Anyone entering this room was forced to centre their attention on the water visible through the windows, and recognise that they were looking out into a space occupied by divine power. Moreover, appreciation of the power of the water from the gallery was emphasised by the complete obscuring from view of the temple *cella*. In the previous building phase, as already discussed, the temple loomed large over the people dedicating objects at the spring, but now it was all but forgotten in a visual sense. Personal and private votive deposition was totally divorced from the formal activities centred in the temple precinct, creating a conceptually different space.

The enclosing of the spring under a roof will also have enhanced the atmospheric setting of the site, which in turn changed the nature of ritual action conducted there. What originally would have been a light and airy atmosphere was transformed into one of dark and damp, as the steam from the water was more confined under the roof and natural light was only provided by the external doors, or possibly through high clerestories.¹⁶⁵ It has also been suggested that statues and columns were placed on plinths sunk into the reservoir, giving the impression of figures standing on the water to viewers in the gallery.¹⁶⁶ This is the sensory experience that presented itself to most of the people who deposited curse tablets at Bath, as the majority are dated to after the enclosing of the spring.¹⁶⁷ Few previous scholars have noted the connection between the enclosing of the spring and the beginnings of cursing rituals at Bath, but once aware of this connection it reveals fresh insights into the ritual of curse tablet deposition that up to now have been absent from the scholarly discussions. The enclosed, confined spaces of both the deposition gallery and the reservoir itself would have heightened people's perception of their immediate surroundings, especially the dark and damp, and intensified senses of

¹⁶⁵ Cunliffe, 1969, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Cunliffe and Davenport, 1985, p. 180.

¹⁶⁷ Tomlin, 1988b, p. 85.

touch, smell and sound.¹⁶⁸ Both the sound of the water running through the pipes out to the baths and the slight smell of sulphur that the spring gives off would have been magnified in the enclosed space. This new sensory experience may have had the effect of creating a more intimate connection with the goddess, without the distractions that were possible in the previous, more open layout of the spring. At the same time, the waters were now more obscured, even from the windows of the deposition gallery, by the concentration of the steam and the blocking of direct natural light. Restriction and mystery were now emphasised, as opposed to the openness and communality of the previous arrangement. When considered all together, the walling-off of the spring could almost be seen as a reimagining of the manifestation of divine power at Bath. The embodiment of the goddess in the cult statue and the primal power of the spring had formerly been united, but now these two essences began to pull apart. The wild, mysterious water goddess now had a more tenuous link with the animal sacrifices conducted on the altar for the benefit of the community as a whole, receiving instead only private dedications, and among them the curse tablets.

Applying this phenomenological perspective enables new ways of reading the tablets themselves, by showing how the environmental contexts influenced the cursing rituals.¹⁶⁹ For example, the use of the word *noctis* on CTNW 16 is unique on known curse tablets, and usually means ‘night’ but can also refer to darkness or gloom.¹⁷⁰ There is also the obscure and unparalleled formula from CTNW 63:

...nisi ut Euticia modium nebulae modium veniat fumi

...except on condition that Euticia sells a bushel of cloud, a bushel of smoke.

Although Tomlin translates *fumi* as ‘smoke’ it could just as easily be ‘steam,’ which might make more sense in the context of a steaming thermal spring. Now that the steam was trapped beneath the roof, the sights and smells of misty, damp and sulphurous air

¹⁶⁸ Something Tilley (2007, p. 129) has recognised in Neolithic monuments.

¹⁶⁹ I have also discussed the influence of environmental contexts at Bath elsewhere, see McKie, 2016, pp. 19-20.

¹⁷⁰ Cic., *Brut.* 96.303; *Rosc. Am.* 32.91.

may have been more apparent than before. Environmental inspiration may also be behind the famous “Vilbia” curse,¹⁷¹ now interpreted as probably against the theft of a cutting tool, rather than a woman called Vilbia.¹⁷² The curse contains the only instance of sympathetic magic¹⁷³ from Roman Britain, specifically the phrase

qui mihi vilbiam involavit sic liquat quomodo aqua...

May he who has stolen my cutting tool from me become as liquid as water...

We have no other evidence of formulas like this on Romano-British curse tablets, so it was probably not a common part of the wider culture of cursing in the province. Rather it may have been a fitting punishment for the suspects, named below the curse formulas, which sprung to the petitioner’s mind as they were composing the curse in front of the sacred spring. As already mentioned, water was the dominant focus of the new architectural arrangement. From the deposition gallery petitioners could see little else, so the sensory experience of the spring would have had a greater impact than it had before.

Not only did the architectural configuration create specific physical surroundings for curse tablet rituals at Bath, but they also guided the movements of those creating the curses through defined areas of varying sacredness. As was the case with most Roman temples, the holiest place was the main temple itself, with the gilded bronze cult statue of the goddess in the *cella* and the memory of past ritual actions attached to the sacrificial altar placed in front of it.¹⁷⁴ Architectural elaboration and elevation above ground level accentuated the power associated with the goddess, and the eye would be drawn to the temple and altar upon entry to the precinct, which was delineated from the world outside by a boundary wall. The temple was also divided from the bath complex by walls, and no communicating doorway existed, creating conceptually different spaces on the same site.

¹⁷¹ CTNW 66.

¹⁷² Russell, 2006.

¹⁷³ Sympathetic magic is a principle that has been identified in magical beliefs and practices by anthropologists and other scholars. The term was originally coined by Frazer to describe practices that are based on two related understandings: (1) that “like produces like” and (2) that “things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed.” (Frazer, 1922, p. 11).

¹⁷⁴ Phenomenologists have previously argued that ritual performances transform the spaces in which they are performed, and that these transformations are retained, even after the performances have ended. See Mitchell, 2006, pp. 394-395.

It would have been perfectly possible to visit the baths without visiting the temple and vice versa. In the first phase of the buildings the spring acted as a bridge between bath and temple, both visually through the windows that overlooked it and also symbolically as the water rose in the temple courtyard where it was venerated, and then flowed through pipes and sluices into the baths, where it was the focus of a complex dedicated to washing, healing and leisure activities. Those making use of the baths would have been aware that the water was a gift from the goddess, and this may have affected their bathing experience, making it almost an act of worship in itself. With this in mind, the giving of some form of offering to the goddess while moving around the complex past the spring windows is unsurprising. Although they could not move from temple to baths directly, there were at least direct sightlines through the three windows overlooking the spring and temple precinct. Ritual deposition was equally possible from either the bath or from the temple making the spring a more direct and personal approach to the goddess for worshippers than the temple and altar, which required the involvement of designated priests to conduct rituals.¹⁷⁵

After the spring was enclosed, however, it became another separate entity with its own external door and walls that cut it off from both the temple precinct and the bath complex. Those intending to deposit objects in the sacred spring from the baths were now required to exit the complex completely then walk to the newly created deposition gallery. Depending on whether worshippers were allowed to use the small doorway from the temple side, an amount of movement could have also been necessary for temple-goers too. If advice had been sought from temple officials on the best way to communicate with the goddess petitioners could easily have forgotten or adapted parts of it in the time required for them to move from temple to deposition gallery. This may be the source of variations in common formulas, for example “whether man or woman,” which is most commonly written as *si vir si femina*,¹⁷⁶ but which also appears in the following forms:

¹⁷⁵ There is only one attested priest of Sulis Minerva, Gaius Calpurnius Receptus, who is known from his tombstone (RIB 155).

¹⁷⁶ On nine tablets: CTNW 45, 49, 51, 53, 60, 63, 70, 84, 102.

- *si femina si vir*
- *sive vir sive femina*
- *utrum vir utrum mulier*
- *si baro si mulier*
- *si mulier si baro*¹⁷⁷

The petitioners who used these variants may have remembered that it was important to include the mutually exclusive alternatives of man/woman but may have either forgotten the exact formula given to them or chosen to deliberately edit it. It should not be forgotten that the thoughts and feelings of a person involved in cursing are likely to have been turbulent and uncertain. They were dealing with personal crises, at Bath almost exclusively caused by the theft of a personal item, and as a result will have changed and adapted any advice they received about how to produce a curse tablet, whether in a conscious attempt to better achieve their own aims, or unconsciously as a result of their unstable state of mind. It is not too much of a stretch to imagine a native Briton briefly forgetting the Latin word *vir*, no matter how fluently bilingual they may have been, when in an emotional state.¹⁷⁸ This is true of all five sites considered in this chapter, none of which show any evidence of professional scribes or magicians being involved in the rituals, leaving us with the conclusion that they are all self-authored by the petitioners themselves.¹⁷⁹

Bath is an excellent case in point for the impact of contexts on the actions of people. As argued by phenomenologists, humans cannot be separated from the world in which they are embedded. When that world is altered, as it was when the spring was enclosed, the actions and understandings of the people who use the space are altered too. The understanding of the dedication at the spring as an intimate and open part of the worship of Sulis Minerva at her temple was changed to give it a much more restricted, mysterious sense, disconnected from both the leisure activities of the baths and the formal

¹⁷⁷ *Baro* is a loan word from Celtic. These variant formulas appear on the follow tablets (respectively): CTNW 57, 75, 19, 78, 71, 89.

¹⁷⁸ The ethnicities of curse tablet petitioners, and the significance of their language choices, will be discussed in Sections 5.2.4 and 5.3.2.

¹⁷⁹ So far only Gordon (2013a) has appreciated the importance of this distinction for the psychological aspects of Roman cursing.

activities conducted in the temple precinct. It was only after the spring was enclosed that curse tablet deposition became prevalent, possibly because the new architectural arrangement created conditions that favoured more both focussed and purposeful approaches to the goddess, as well as activities that people would rather have performed in secret.¹⁸⁰

2.2.2: Mainz

The other urban temple site considered in this chapter is the joint temple of Isis Panthea and Mater Magna at Mainz (*Mogontiacum*).¹⁸¹ Mainz had been established as a military camp early in the Roman campaigns into western Germania, probably in 13 BC, as the site controlled good bridging points over both the Rhine and Main.¹⁸² There was a sizeable military presence in the city from the legionary base, which had a significant effect on the social and cultural life of the settlement throughout the Roman period, and especially in the first century when there were two legions stationed in the town. The community would have been a vibrant mix of soldiers and suppliers from Italy, Spain, Greece and the east, as well as local Celts and Germans.¹⁸³ Mainz was also a provincial capital from around AD 90, and this would have brought administrators and politicians from Rome, along with a constant stream of messengers, tax collectors and the like. This ethnic diversity resulted in a huge variety of religious worship, and there is epigraphic and archaeological evidence for veneration of a wide range of deities from Roman state gods including Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, to local/Roman hybrids such as Mars Camulus and Mars Leucetius, to the eastern imports of Isis, Serapis, Magna Mater and Mithras.¹⁸⁴ Although it is tempting to picture Mainz as a thriving multi-cultural city, the epigraphic evidence assembled by Kronmeyer shows that in the first century AD it was divided along ethnic and economic fault-lines. The community was separated between more affluent soldiers and skilled

¹⁸⁰ The importance of secrecy for cursing rituals will be discussed further throughout Section 4.3.

¹⁸¹ Although the goddess's name was usually given as Magna Mater, at this temple in Mainz she was exclusively named Mater Magna. As such, I have used the latter when referring specifically to the activities at the temple in Mainz, and the former when discussing the wider cult.

¹⁸² Witteyer, 2003, p. 3.

¹⁸³ Ziethen, 1998, pp. 60-61.

¹⁸⁴ Ziethen, 1998, pp. 64-65.

immigrant craftsmen on one hand, and poorer natives on the other. Gravestones are often distinguishable between elaborate designs and portraits for soldiers and non-native civilians, and much simpler, poorer stones for people with native names.¹⁸⁵

In the mid-first century AD, probably AD 69 or 70, a joint temple was dedicated to Mater Magna and Isis.¹⁸⁶ It was funded by the combined efforts of an imperial slave, named Vitulus, and an imperial freedwoman, Claudia Icmas,¹⁸⁷ and possibly built with some help from the military, judging from the brick stamps.¹⁸⁸ The joint worship of these two deities is uncommon, although it is attested in inscriptions at several other sites throughout the Empire, including Italy, Gaul and elsewhere in Germany.¹⁸⁹ Possibly they were worshipped together because of their associations as divine mother figures – the worship of which had been popular in pre-Roman Gaul and Germany – because of their Eastern origins or perhaps both.¹⁹⁰ In either case, the temple occupied a central location in the city, on the main road between the legionary camp and the bridge over the Rhine (no. 1 on Figure 9). It was a popular temple in the city, attracting worshippers from across the local community, including the wife of a legionary legate, who dedicated an altar.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Kronmeyer, 1983, cited in Rothe, 2006, pp. 69-71.

¹⁸⁶ Although the curse tablets have been published in full (Blänsdorf, 2012), the full report on the temple is still awaited. What follows is therefore based on preliminary reports, brief articles and the museum guidebooks (Witteyer, 2003; 2004b; 2004a; 2013).

¹⁸⁷ *AE* 2004, 1014-6.

¹⁸⁸ Witteyer, 2013, pp. 317-323.

¹⁸⁹ Gschlößl, 2006, p. 84; Witteyer, 2013, p. 319. The temple at Mainz is the earliest attestation of worship of this combination of goddesses in the north-western provinces, although a second-century inscription from Aachen shows that it was not unknown elsewhere (*AE* 2006.864).

¹⁹⁰ Blänsdorf, 2010a, pp. 143-145. For cults of the Matronae in the north-west see Derks, 1998, pp. 119-130. For associations between worship of the Matronae, Epona and Magna Mater see Gschlößl, 2006, pp. 51-57.

¹⁹¹ *AE* 2004, 1018.

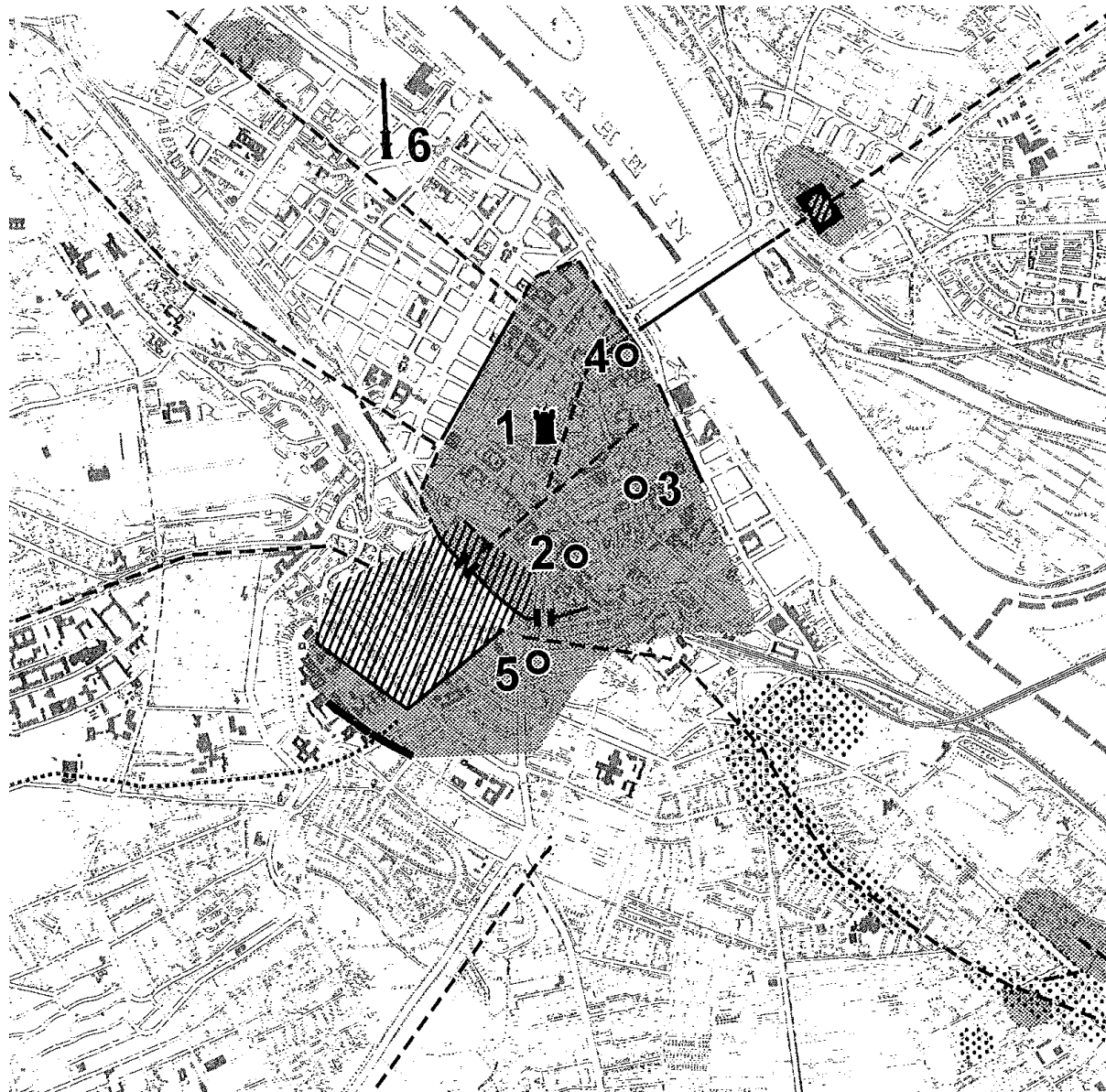


Figure 9: Map of Roman Mainz. Blänsdorf: 2012, p. 2, figure 1.

The site of the joint temple had been a burial ground in the Hallstatt period of the Iron Age,¹⁹² and one of the grave mounds must have still been visible at the start of the Roman period as the temple for Isis was built directly on top of it. Perhaps this was a motivation for choosing the site for the temple, as it was already considered sacred and could not have been used for a more mundane purpose such as shops or housing.¹⁹³ Much like at Bath, the temple buildings themselves went through many different phases over the course of the Roman period, but as the curses were confined to stratigraphic deposits securely dated to between AD 65 and 130, it is only the first phase that formed

¹⁹² Wooden planks that lined the burial chamber have been dated to 680-650 BC (Witteyer, 2004a, p. 23).

¹⁹³ Witteyer, 2003, pp. 4-5, 9.

the context for curse tablet deposition. The sanctuary was enclosed by walls, and consisted of two small, rectangular, half-timbered temples, probably one for each goddess (numbers 1 and 2 on Figure 10).¹⁹⁴

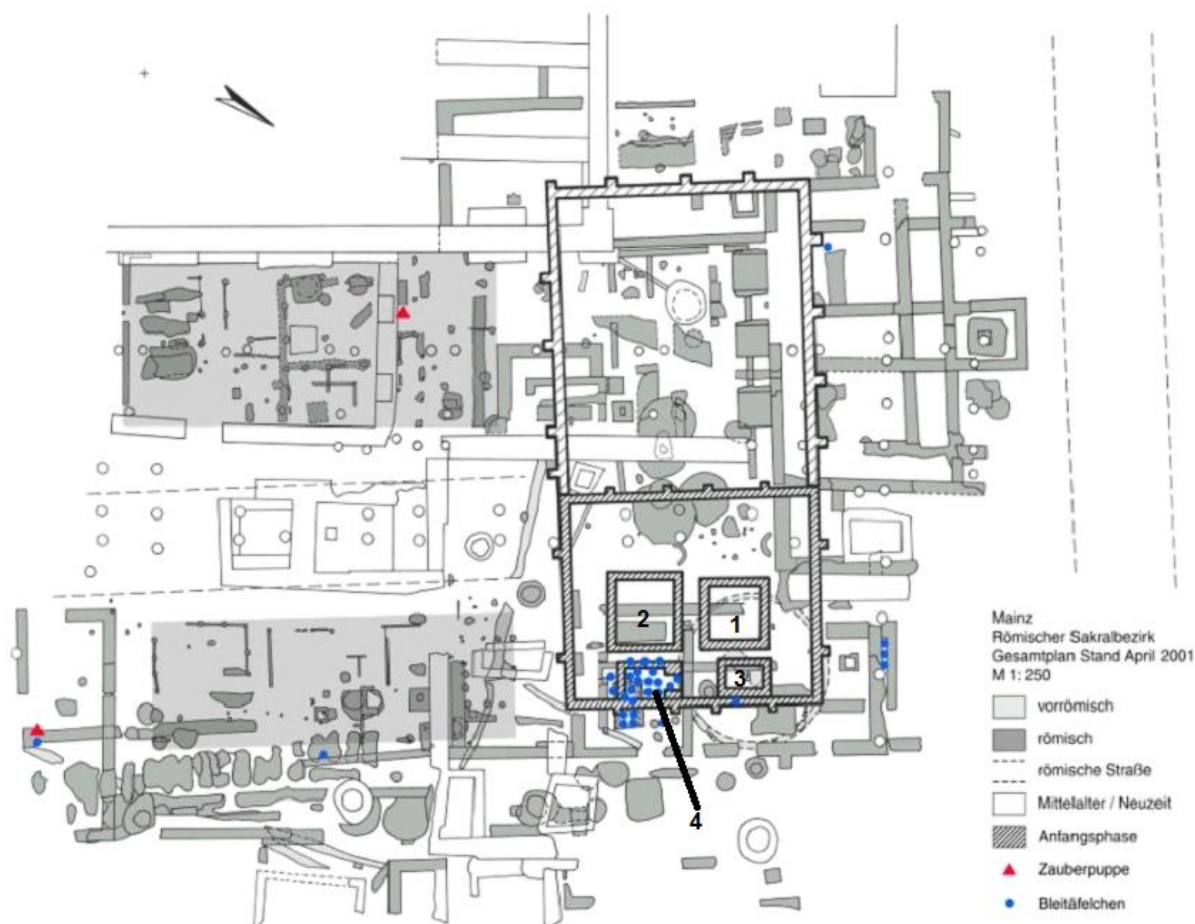


Figure 10: The temple of Mater Magna and Isis in Mainz. After Blänsdorf, 2010 p 144, figure 2.

To the south of the sanctuary were two more half-timbered buildings (the grey areas to the left of the temple on Figure 10), which may have been used for celebrations and feasting, judging by the archaeological assemblages of butchered or burnt animal bones, other food remains and cooking vessels.¹⁹⁵ Deposition of burnt offerings seems to have been a dominant ritual action, as there were around 100 small pits found on the site, as well as around 15 larger deposits of offered material, primarily food and oil lamps.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ There are no tablets that address Isis directly, and all of those addressing Mater Magna were deposited behind building 2, leading to the assumption that building 2 was the temple for the latter, and building 1 for the former. The structures marked 3 and 4 on Figure 10 are small, brick-lined pits into which burned offerings seem to have been deposited. These are discussed in more detail later in this section.

¹⁹⁵ Witteyer, 2003, p. 5.

¹⁹⁶ Blänsdorf, 2010a, p. 143.

Alongside these private dedications there would have been the rituals common to the worship of these two goddesses, imported from their eastern homelands even in this distant outpost of the Empire. Descriptions of the castrated priests of Magna Mater and the shaven-headed devotees of Isis are well known from various ancient literary accounts,¹⁹⁷ and it is likely that at least some of their ecstatic and eccentric rituals were replicated at Mainz. From the curse tablets themselves we know this is true for the worship of Mater Magna, but there is no mention of the rituals for Isis.¹⁹⁸ None of the tablets were addressed to Isis directly, and there are only two implicit references to her on the curses, both in conjunction with Mater Magna.¹⁹⁹ Quite why the curses only appealed to Mater Magna is unknown, but scholars have suggested that she may have been considered more likely to respond to prayers for justice than her Egyptian counterpart, or that her chthonic connections were stronger, making appeals through curse tablets more appropriate.²⁰⁰

Although these explanations are possible, there is perhaps another, more likely reason for the exclusivity of appeals to Mater Magna, based on the texts of the curses themselves, and what they reveal about the embeddedness of ritual practices.²⁰¹ On those curses where 'Mater Magna' is named directly, this is predominantly in connection with her ecstatic eunuch priests: the *galli*. These men, as well as the *megali* and the priests of Bellona who are also mentioned on several Mainz curses, were infamous for the self-inflicted wounds that characterised their devotion to their goddesses, and this evidently had a particular resonance with the authors of the Mainz curses. Several curses used their act of genital mutilation in particular in sympathetic magical formulas, for example CTNW 309, which includes the line:

¹⁹⁷ For Magna Mater: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.4f and Juv., 6.511-21. For Isis: Apul., *Met.* 11 *passim* but especially 9-10, and Juv., 6.522-41. They also appear on sculptures and gravestones, see Beard *et al.*, 1998, p. 211 and 136 (vol. 2).

¹⁹⁸ Despite this, the excavators found a piece of fresco depicting Anubis, which suggests that there were certainly some Egyptian elements to the temple (Witteyer, 2003, p. 29).

¹⁹⁹ On CTNW 305 Quintus is given to the wives, an allusion to both Mater Magna and Isis. CTNW 304 asks that the 'gods and goddesses' be hostile to the thief of some money and jewellery. This is probably an appeal to Attis, Magna Mater, Osiris and Isis – the two divine pairings who may have shared the temple.

²⁰⁰ Blänsdorf, 2010a, pp. 145-146.

²⁰¹ I have discussed this in more detail elsewhere: see McKie, 2016, p. 20.

*...quomodo galli se secant et praecidunt uirilia sua sic ille... intercidat melore
pectus...*

...just as the *galli* cut themselves and chop off their genitals, so shall they... cut their chest...

This is one of the more direct formulas, which seeks to transfer the pain suffered by the *galli* onto the victim of the curse – a fraudster in this example. Some of the other curses are more abstract in their application of the formula; one example directs the cutting to the victim's "loyalty, reputation and ability."²⁰² This same curse also refers to another aspect of the eunuch's life – their emasculation. It reads:

...nec illi in numero hominum sunt neque ille sit ...

...just as they are not numbered among men, so should he not be...

This curse seeks to turn what is presumably a desired aspect of the process of becoming a *gallus* – demarcation from the general population in devotion to the goddess – and turns it into a punishment, separating the victim from those around him. In all of these examples the petitioners have been directly influenced by their surroundings. The *galli* would have been common sights, especially in the temple but also out in the city itself when leading processions on festival days. Even if the individuals were not directly witnessing the castration rituals of the priests at the time of composing their curses, it is evident that they were an important part of the general understanding of the temple space. The enacting of the curse ritual was influenced by being embedded in this context, as shown by the above examples.

It was not only the worship of Mater Magna that inspired sympathetic formulas on the curse tablets, but also that of her consort, Attis. On the 22nd of March each year, worshippers of Attis would bring a tree into the temple in commemoration of his death under a pine, which legend said was suicide caused by self-castration committed in a fit of

²⁰² CTNW 305. The Latin uses the alliterative grouping of *fides fama faculitas*.

romantic madness.²⁰³ One of the Mainz curse tablets refers to this ritual, again in a sympathetic magical formula.²⁰⁴

... *ita uti arbor siccabit se in sancto sic et illi siccet fama fides fortuna facultas...*

...just as the tree in the temple will dry up, so shall his reputation, loyalty, his happiness, his ability dry up...

There are also a few uncertain mentions of sacred or hidden boxes, or of items deposited in the temple, for example twice on CTNW 299: *quomodo sacrorum deposierunt in sancto sic et tuam uitam ualetudinem Gemella* (even as... they laid the holy objects in the temple, thus you should not be able to redeem your life, Gemella); and then in a garbled line at the end of the tablet *cistas caecas aureas* (hidden golden boxes). On CTNW 306 the boxes are directly associated with Attis: *bone sancte Atthis per omnia te rogo domine per tuum Castorem Pollucem per cistas penetrales* (good holy Att(h)is, I ask you by everything, Lord, by your Castor and Pollux, by the containers within the temple). Alvar connects these few mentions to occasional representations of the *cista mystica* on reliefs depicting *galli*, and argues that they could represent containers in which the severed genitals of Attis were symbolically kept.²⁰⁵

From these curses it seems clear that it was not simply the chthonic or judicial power of Mater Magna that inspired the wording or the dedication of curse tablets, but more probably the witnessing of the rituals of her priests and followers, or at least the knowledge that these took place. The stark imagery of self-inflicted wounds, dead trees and the mystery surrounding the sacred boxes evidently had profound effects on those who visited the temple, especially at this early point in the Roman presence in northern Europe. The temple at Mainz provides the earliest evidence for worship of Mater Magna and Isis in the northwest,²⁰⁶ so these rituals may have been something of a novelty to

²⁰³ Salzman, 1990, pp. 164-166.

²⁰⁴ CTNW 305.

²⁰⁵ Alvar, 2008, pp. 260-261.

²⁰⁶ Blänsdorf, 2012, p. 1.

those who had not experienced Rome or the provinces further east where they would have been more common.

After they were inscribed the majority of the curse tablets were ritually burnt in purpose-dug fire pits behind the temple of Mater Magna (number 4 on Figure 10). These were lined with brick and stone, and went through at least four distinct phases as new pits were dug when the existing one became full of ash and charcoal.²⁰⁷ The finds of charred and melted lumps of lead alongside the more complete tablets are evidence not only of just how many more than the 34 complete curses were actually dedicated, but also of how prevalent this method of deposition was on the site.²⁰⁸ At least three of the petitioners had planned this final action before writing their tablet, as they included sympathetic formulas transferring the burning and melting of the lead onto the bodies of the victims.²⁰⁹ This action is in keeping with the dominant form of private offerings at the temple, which, as already mentioned, consisted of burning animal and vegetable sacrifices in pits. The use of the same ritual burning for sacrifices and curse tablets suggests that they were understood as part of the same votive complex on the site – what was an appropriate method of communication for one was also appropriate for the other. Both rituals were united by the use of fire as the method of communicating the petition to the realm of the gods. This could have been aimed in either of two directions: upward through the motion of the flames and smoke, or downwards through the motion of digging and the reduction of the offerings to ash and soil.²¹⁰ It is tempting to see the latter as most relevant for the curses, which are traditionally viewed as connected to the chthonic powers below the earth but in this case, where the curses are addressed to a goddess with few chthonic associations, either is possible.

However, although the deposition of curses and of other offerings may seem superficially the same action, significant differences appear when they are analysed from a phenomenological perspective. Importantly, the two types of offering were conducted at

²⁰⁷ Witteyer, 2013, p. 339.

²⁰⁸ Gordon, 2014, p. 777.

²⁰⁹ CTNW 289, 300 and 301.

²¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the role of fire and smoke in Graeco-Roman religion see Naiden, 2012.

different parts of the site. The offerings of food were burned in small pits dug in the open temple precinct for each individual offering and then “signed off” by the deposition of oil lamps.²¹¹ Acting in the open like this meant that there was the possibility of being watched or overheard by others on the site. In contrast, the majority of the curses were deposited in one of the pits between the back wall of the temple of Magna Mater and the wall surrounding the entire complex. This space was less than two metres wide, and the majority of this was taken up by the pits themselves, meaning that there was probably room for no more than one or two people at a time to stand here. They would also have been hidden from the general view of most people standing within the *temenos*. Although the two actions are superficially similar, both involving burning in pits, these are important differences that change the sensory experience of conducting them, and therefore also the religious meaning attached to them. Digging a new pit to make an offering would have marked the event out as separate from the petitions of others, or of past ones made by the same individual, and therefore important as a distinct act. The worshippers were in effect opening a new channel of communication with the goddesses, dedicated solely to transmitting a single, specific need. Doing so in the open displayed the offering to any onlookers, and made a social statement about the actor’s wealth or piety. In contrast, depositing a curse tablet in a pre-existing pit where others had done the same linked the new petition to past actions, perhaps strengthening the appeal by association. The act was hidden from view, creating a sense of mystery and secrecy, as well as enhancing the feeling of communicating directly with the divine without interference from other humans.

Also found at Mainz were three clay dolls, at least one of which was connected to a cursing ritual (Figure 11). These dolls are more common outside the north-western provinces; only nine others have been found north of the Alps.²¹² At Mainz the dolls were

²¹¹ Witteyer, 2003, p. 11, quote from Gordon, 2014, p. 776.

²¹² For a general treatment of the relationship between dolls and curses see Ogden, 1999; for the other northern dolls see Bailliot, 2015. Despite the casual use of the term by almost all scholars on the subject (with the notable exception of German academics, who call them ‘puppets’ or ‘poppets’ – see for example Blänsdorf, 2015, p. 295), these dolls have nothing to do with Voodoo. Calling these objects ‘Voodoo dolls’ simultaneously perpetuates a popular misunderstanding of genuine Louisiana Voodoo and Haitian Vodou practices and also adds unnecessary modern baggage to the study of the ancient evidence. For a more detailed discussion of figural ritual magic in Europe, Africa and the Caribbean, including the development of the Voodoo Doll Myth see Armitage, 2015.

found outside the sacred boundary of the temple, more closely connected to the two feasting halls mentioned above. Only one has survived in a state that allows proper reconstruction, and it was found in the same context as CTNW 286. The curse itself includes only the name of the victim, Trutmo Florus, son of Clitmo, leaving the assumption that any description of the motive must have been expressed orally. After moulding, and presumably as part of the cursing ritual, the doll was pierced six times: in the neck, chest, stomach, hip, back and anus.²¹³ Before deposition it was deliberately broken in half and then laid down in a twisted position, with the head facing down and the phallus facing up. In the same context were also found an oil lamp, a clay pot and some burnt fruit seeds. What this seems to represent is a single instance of a person elaborating the standard cursing ritual with their own additions, presumably to ensure greater success of the curse. Perhaps the curse was motivated by something other than theft, the dominant motive for those deposited in the temple, and that is why the petitioner thought it was more appropriate to alter the ritual and deposit the curse in a different location.



Figure 11: The magic doll found with CTNW 286 (Mainz). Bailliot, 2015, p. 99, figure 1b.

Overall, the cursing experience at Mainz is harder to reconstruct than at Bath. Partly this is due to the relative excavation and publication histories of the sites, with much more detail available for the latter. Also, reconstruction of the experience is harder for Mainz

²¹³ Witteyer, 2004b, p. 44.

because the temple layout is much more ambiguous there than at Bath, where the construction of the deposition gallery allows conclusions to be drawn on the sensory experience that surrounded the petitioners whilst performing the rituals. Nevertheless, approaching the available evidence from a phenomenological angle has illuminated some new aspects of the cursing experience. Secrecy and mystery seem to have been sought by depositing the tablets in the space between two walls, away from more open dedications and rituals carried out elsewhere in the temple complex. The association of the temple with connotations of pain, blood and separation stimulated by the idiosyncratic worship of the *galli* had a considerable effect on the understanding of some petitioners, who inverted the desirable aspects of becoming a *gallus* and turned them into punishments to be inflicted on unwilling victims. Melting the tablets in fire at the end of the ritual also influenced the form of some of the curses, as petitioners at the writing stage thought ahead to what was to come, and deliberately incorporated it into their written formulas.

2.2.3: Uley²¹⁴

The third and final temple site considered in this chapter is the one dedicated to Mercury on West Hill above Uley, Gloucestershire.²¹⁵ The temple was set within a landscape of villas and farms, and occupied a site that seems to have been in use for millennia before the Roman occupation. Despite the site's rural location it was not isolated; evidence shows that it had access to goods traded from the continent throughout the Iron Age, and was almost certainly associated with Uley Bury, a large hill fort located nearby.²¹⁶ The site went through eight major building phases during the Roman period (and at least three before the conquest), from an early timber structure with ditches and ramparts,

²¹⁴ As already mentioned, the Uley curses have not yet been fully published. As a result, any conclusions presented here are liable to change when the full evidence becomes available. However, the temple was published in detail, and so the ritual activities can be reconstructed with a degree of certainty.

²¹⁵ The identification of Mercury as the god worshipped is supported by inscriptions, the curse tablets and the cult statue. However, one of the tablets (CTNW 172) does potentially confuse the deity with Mars or Silvanus. This could either mean that a local deity was associated with the site and hybridised with these Roman figures, or that more than one deity was worshipped at the site.

²¹⁶ Woodward and Leach, 1993, p. 4.

progressing to stone architecture from the second century AD onwards.²¹⁷ The first stone temple was almost square, measuring 7x8m, and, in the typical style of Gallo-Roman temples, was surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory which extended the dimensions to 14x12m. A portico was added in AD 350, but this only survived until the end of the fourth century, when most of the building either collapsed or was demolished, leaving a peculiar L-shaped building consisting of what had been the north-west and south-west ambulatories.²¹⁸ Eventually even this was demolished and a Christian basilica church was built on the site; and West Hill therefore retained its religious significance well into the medieval period.



Figure 12: Reconstruction of the temple complex at Uley. Woodward and Leach, 1993, p. 310, figure 212.

The Roman temple did not stand alone, and from at least the second or third century was surrounded by a range of structures that may have served as guesthouses, shops, workshops, stables or barns (Figure 12). The exact forms and arrangements of these buildings changed over time, probably in reaction to changes in the function and popularity of the site. The impression given by the excavators in their report is of a busy

²¹⁷ Woodward and Leach, 1993, p. 10.

²¹⁸ For the phases of the stone-built temple see Woodward and Leach, 1993, pp. 33-65.

site geared towards catering for the needs of those who travelled to worship the god.²¹⁹

This element of travel to the site marks the key difference between this site and Bath and Mainz, which would both have been primarily patronised by the local communities in which they were situated, supplemented by passing travellers. In contrast, the nearest small settlements to Uley were at least three kilometres away,²²⁰ but to reach the site from the larger Roman towns of Gloucester (*Glevum*) and Cirencester (*Corinium*) people would have needed to travel at least 20km. Travel would have had a significant effect on the mind-set of people composing curse tablets to be deposited at Uley. Unlike at Bath, where many of the curses could easily have been written in the immediate aftermath of discovering the theft, the requirement for travel to the temple at Uley removed people from that initial rush of emotions. This is borne out in the tablets in two ways. For some people the time seems to have cooled their emotions, clearing their head and allowing them to make a more measured appeal to the god, giving their words a more considered and almost legalistic tone. The curse of Saturnina is a good example of this.²²¹

*commonitorium deo Mercurio a Saturnina muliere de lintiamine quod amisit ut ille
qui ho[c] circumvenit non ante laxetur nisi quand[o] res s(upra)dictas ad fanum
s(upra)d[ic]tum attul[e]rit si vir si [m]ulier si servus si liber // deo s(upra)dicto
tertiam partem [d]onat ita ut exsigat istas res quae s(upra)s(crip)tae sunt*

A memorandum to the god Mercury from Saturnina, a woman, concerning the linen cloth which she has lost. (She asks) that he who has stolen it should not have rest before, unless, until he brings the aforesaid property to the aforesaid temple, whether man or woman, whether slave or free. She gives a third part to the aforesaid god on condition that he exact this property which has been written above.

The curse is almost contractual, setting out exactly what is expected of the god and what the reward will be once his obligation is fulfilled.

²¹⁹ Woodward and Leach, 1993, pp. 314-315.

²²⁰ The villa at Frocester and the Roman town near modern Kingscote are roughly equidistant from the temple.

²²¹ CTNW 172.

For other petitioners, the travel time required to reach the temple seems to have given them time to dwell on the injustice of what they had suffered, resulting in more detailed punishments than any that appear on the Bath tablets. For example, both the listing of specific body parts to be cursed and rhetorical elaboration of curse formulas are more common at Uley, possibly stemming from this more thought-out process.²²²

Away from the curse tablets, ritual focus at the site seems to have been on animal sacrifice, predominantly of male goats and domestic fowls. Around 186 male goats were killed each year at the peak of activity in the early fourth century, a level unparalleled anywhere else in the north-western provinces.²²³ Ritual focus on these two animal groups was symbolised by the cult statue, which depicted Mercury with a cockerel and ram. Three sacrificial altars were found, which were probably set up either in front of the temple for large-scale public sacrifices, or inside for smaller, perhaps personal offerings. Inside the temple stood the aforementioned cult statue of Mercury, in front of which was a small, lead-lined pool. There was no specific architectural arrangement for the production and deposition of curse tablets on the site, meaning that the ritual was probably more open and visible than at Bath, where petitioners benefitted from the secrecy of the deposition gallery above the sacred spring, or at Mainz where they were hidden behind the *cella*. It is uncertain where exactly the petitioners at Uley conducted the cursing rituals, whether out in the open courtyard or in the relative privacy of the temple *cella* itself.²²⁴ On the one hand, privacy suits the popular image of cursing rituals as dark or malign, and also conforms to the general pattern observed across the other main sites of deposition in the north-west.²²⁵ On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the petitions recorded on the Uley tablets were all justifiable attempts to redress wrong-doing, and the god was

²²² CTNW 181 is particularly illustrative of this, including some alliteration (*dono destino deputo*) and some incredibly evocative punishments for the thief: “unknown diseases and adverse ailments... half-naked, toothless, tremulous, gouty, beyond human pity.”

²²³ Levitan in Woodward and Leach, 1993, p. 300.

²²⁴ The question of whether or not private individuals could enter a Roman temple *cella* has rarely been addressed, let alone satisfactorily answered. Mattern (2001) has collected a series of ancient literary sources that seem to suggest that they could. He also argues, convincingly in my opinion, that lavish decoration of temple interiors would be pointless without some measure of general access.

²²⁵ There are a number of social reasons why people may have preferred to conduct cursing rituals in private, and these will be discussed further in Section 4.3.

most often addressed in a flattering or respectful manner. Therefore, considering the nature of their appeals, the petitioners may not have necessarily sought out secluded locations to conduct the rituals on sites where they were not guided to them, like at Uley and unlike at Bath and Mainz. As discussed by both Briault and Revell,²²⁶ the religious buildings in which rituals were performed provided guides to and meaning for the actions of the worshippers. They have argued that the layout of buildings choreographed movement and action by reminding people of past actions at the site. Revell in particular has shown that although commonalities can exist on larger scales, local variations and emphases have a greater effect on defining how rituals are carried out.²²⁷ This means that, although secrecy was an important part of the experience of cursing rituals at Bath and Mainz, this does not make it necessary to seek out places of secrecy for conducting the same rituals at Uley.

The reconstruction of the cursing experience at Uley is ultimately hampered by the circumstances in which the tablets were found. The excavators of the Uley temple complex found many of the dedicated objects in demolition layers dating to the end of the site's use as a pagan holy place.²²⁸ The largest of these deposits was above what had previously been an accommodation building (building I), and dates to around AD 380.²²⁹ Almost half of the curse tablets were found in this single demolition layer, making it impossible to date them individually. Palaeographic studies suggest that they were produced between the second and fourth centuries: a similar time-scale to Bath.²³⁰ Although this find context removes any possibility of fine-grained analysis of the deposition rituals surrounding curse tablet production at Uley, it can be suggested that they were deposited in the temple *cella*, presumably near to other votive objects, or at least stored with them. Votive ritual at Uley seems to conform broadly to wider practice in Roman Britain and the north-western provinces, and the assemblage includes common

²²⁶ Briault, 2007, p. 294; Revell, 2009, pp. 19-21.

²²⁷ Revell, 2007, p. 227.

²²⁸ A wide range of objects seem to have been left as votive offerings at Uley, including jewellery, miniature and full-sized weapons, pots and figurines.

²²⁹ Woodward and Leach, 1993, p. 47.

²³⁰ Tomlin, 1993, p. 113.

items such as jewellery, miniature weapons, clay pots, tokens and coins.²³¹ All of these objects, once given to the god, were considered sacred property of the deity that could not be removed from the sanctuary without committing sacrilege.²³² Because of their deposition in the same place, it can be argued that, from the perspective of those involved in clearing the site at the time of the temple's demolition, the curses and other votive objects were understood to be connected in some way. They were all dedicated to the god, and all attempted to establish a relationship of exchange, where the gift would inspire the god to render some service to the human party, whether success, fertility, health or revenge.

The curses from Uley are more votive in intention than those from other sites, perhaps in reflection of this intermingling of ritual activity. At least three of the Uley tablets specify that a portion of the stolen item or of its value is to be given as an offering to the god in payment for punishing the thief.²³³ There are a few other examples of this from Roman Britain,²³⁴ but none from Bath, where objects are given to the gods with the intention of making them sacred objects, and therefore making the crime of stealing them more serious, rather than with any offering in mind. Why this difference exists remains unclear, but a phenomenological analysis may provide some answers by attempting to understand the temple space from an insider's point of view.²³⁵ The difference in attitude may have had something to do with how and where the petitioners conducted their cursing ritual. At Bath and Mainz the petitioners were sectioned off from the main sites of ritual action, which perhaps removed thoughts of more standard sacrifices from their minds as they composed their curses. At Uley, where there was no dedicated cursing space, people could have been more susceptible to the influences of other rituals being

²³¹ For trends in votive deposition in Roman Britain see Kiernan, 2009. Regarding Uley, in the standard practice of archaeological publications, the analysis of the various votive types was conducted by individual specialists and presented in discreet sections of the final report. While this produces richly detailed data, it hampers overall synthesis of ritual action on the site, as has been pointed out only recently, see Osborne, 2004, pp. 3-4.

²³² This was enshrined in Roman law from archaic times right through to the late Empire, and even included building materials (see Glinister, 2000, pp. 67-70).

²³³ CTNW 172, 188, 195.

²³⁴ Two from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, (CTNW 153 and 154), one from Pagan's Hill (CTNW 149) one from Lydney Park (CTNW 145) and one from London (CTNW 139).

²³⁵ Thomas, 2006, p. 49.

conducted nearby, and which gave part or all of an offering to the god as part of a request for divine aid. If they were conducting the ritual in the open courtyard in front of the temple they may have been more aware of people overhearing or witnessing their actions, and therefore may have been more concerned with phrasing their appeal in more standard or acceptable terms.

Although cursing at Uley is hard to reconstruct, the experience outlined here seems very different from the previous two temple sites examined. There is little suggestion that secrecy was a factor in creating curses at Uley, and this seems to be borne out in the language of the tablets. As a result of the more open experience, cursing may have been more closely linked to other ritual activity at the site than it was at Bath and Mainz, connecting the activity to votive practice especially.

2.2.4: Trier

The site of Trier seems to have been mostly unoccupied at the time of the Roman conquest of the area under Julius Caesar. When the city was founded it was named *Augusta Treverorum* after the local tribe, the Treveri.²³⁶ It was an important city throughout the Roman period, owing to its strategic bridge across the Mosel and position at a safe but reachable distance from the German *limes*. Trier had administrative functions and official residences from the first century onwards, and as a result it grew into a prosperous and well-developed provincial city. Much like Mainz, this prosperity would have attracted people from across the Empire who brought with them their gods.²³⁷ Archaeological excavation has produced evidence for the worship of a huge range of deities, from standard Roman gods and goddesses and local Gallic and Germanic figures, to eastern cults like Isis, Magna Mater and Mithras.²³⁸ Much religious worship in the city was concentrated to the south-east in the Altbachtal district, which was, from the first century

²³⁶ Wightman, 1970, p. 37.

²³⁷ Although as a civilian town with no military presence the demographic in Trier would have been considerably different to Mainz.

²³⁸ The Rheinisches Landmuseum Trier has published a full catalogue of religious finds from the city: see Kuhnen, 1996.

onwards, home to over 70 temples, shrines and altars of various sizes and designs (no. 9 on Figure 13). Most of these were built in the Gallo-Roman style, and so may have been dedicated to local gods, but the identification of many of them is uncertain,²³⁹ including the one in which the single curse tablet from the complex was deposited.²⁴⁰

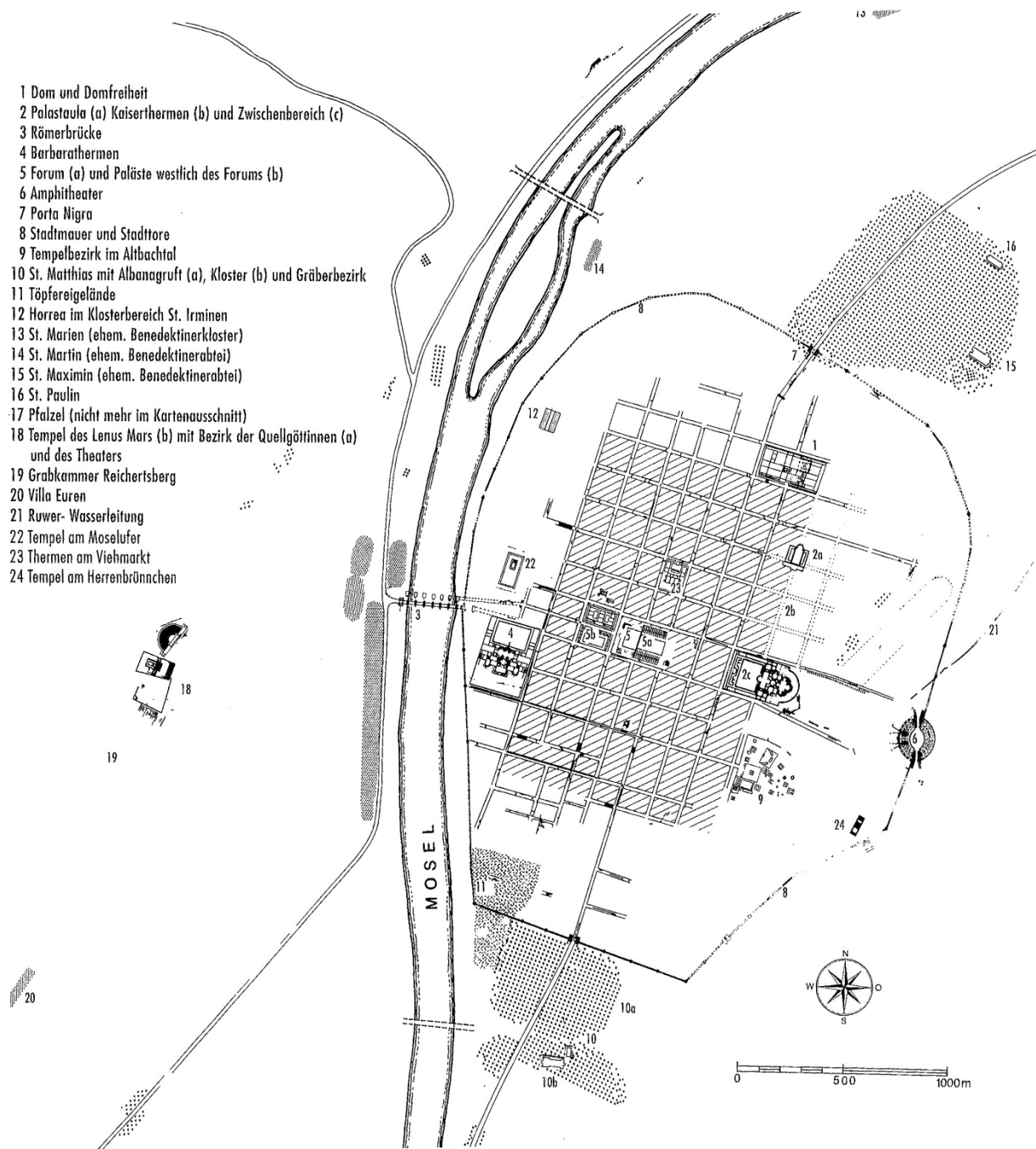


Figure 13: Plan of Roman Trier. Kuhn 1996: 16, figure 4.

²³⁹ Gilles, 1996, p. 72.

²⁴⁰ CTNW 239.

After the turmoil of the mid-third century, in which Trier had been part of the break-away Gallic Empire, the city became one of the official residences of the western emperors.²⁴¹ A throne room, lavish baths and other public buildings were erected, especially in the first half of the fourth century, when the city's amphitheatre was also expanded. The amphitheatre (no. 6 on Figure 13) had originally been built in the second century in the same part of the city as both the Altbachtal religious complex and the monumental temple of Mars at Herrenbrünnchen (no. 24 on Figure 13). It could seat around 20,000 spectators; a significant proportion not just of the population of the town but also the surrounding countryside. Games continued to be held until the fifth century, and it was in this amphitheatre that Constantine had prisoners of war executed after campaigns against the Franks and the Bructeri.²⁴² New excavations of the amphitheatre in the 1990s revealed a late-Roman cemetery at the rear of the eastern *cavea*. At least 46 graves were recorded, mostly inhumations but also including six cremations. Unlike other cemeteries in Roman Trier, this one was not aligned with any road, and its location would have made it invisible to people visiting the city.²⁴³ It is probable therefore, that this cemetery was used to dispose of the remains of those who died in the arena, including not only the aforementioned executed prisoners but also gladiators and other performers. The skeletal evidence supports this, because although it was damaged by taphonomic factors, the excavators were able to conclude that the majority of those buried in the cemetery were male.²⁴⁴

Part of the expansion of the amphitheatre in the later third century involved digging a set of cellars below the arena floor for the purpose of storing staging and making scene changes considerably easier. It was while excavating these cellars in the 1900s that archaeologists found around 30 lead curse tablets (Figure 14. Find spots of curse tablets are marked by circles and ovals.).²⁴⁵ Many were fragmented or corroded, making reading them challenging, but they were published in full by Wunsch in 1910, and the more

²⁴¹ Wightman, 1970, pp. 58-59.

²⁴² Mentioned in two of the *Panegyrici Latini* (6.12.3; 12.23.3), both of which were probably delivered at Trier when Constantine was resident in the city.

²⁴³ For full details of the cemetery see Kuhnen *et al.*, 2013.

²⁴⁴ Kuhnen, 2009, p. 101.

²⁴⁵ See Kuhnen, 2009 figures 9.4 and 9.5 for images from the 1908 excavation.

complete tablets were subsequently included in the *CIL*.²⁴⁶ Although found by archaeologists in the arena cellar, they were in stratigraphic deposits above the floor-level. This suggests that they were deposited in the floor of the amphitheatre itself, and fell into the cellar when the ceiling collapsed at some later date.²⁴⁷

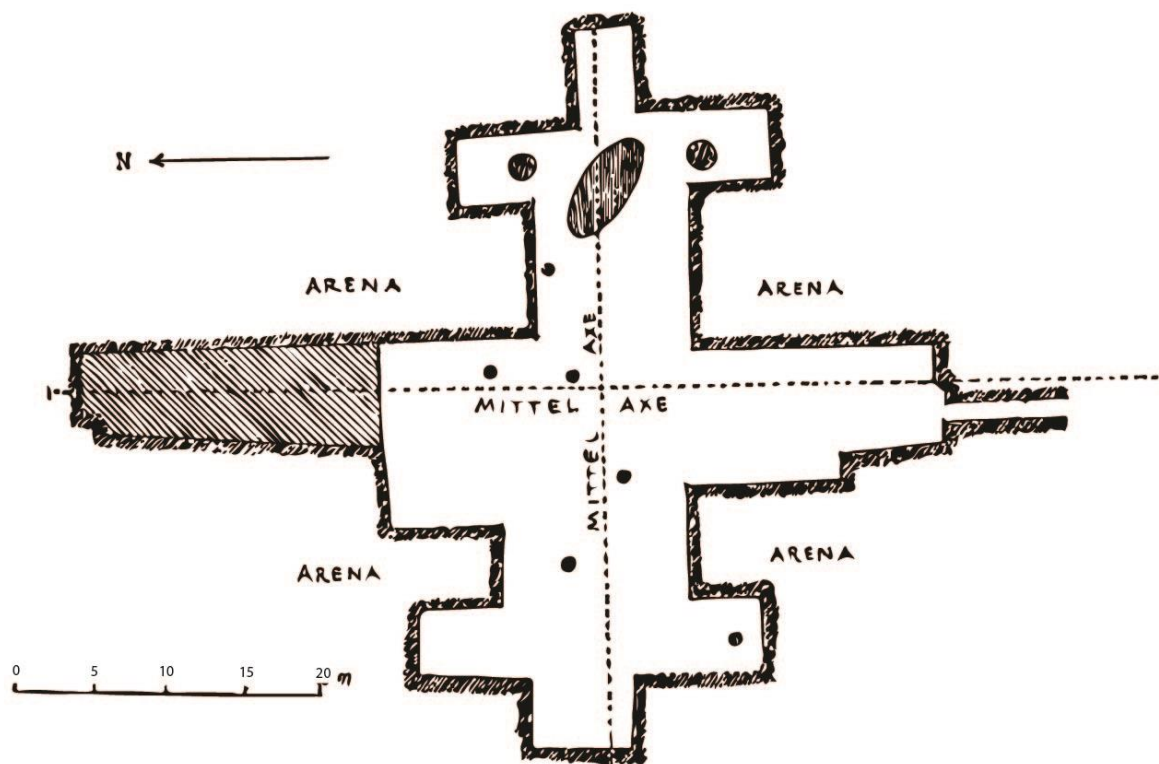


Figure 14: Arena cellar plan. Wunsch 1910, p 1, figure 1.

The picture presented by the Trier tablets is somewhat confused. There are few connections between them, and fewer than half have any recognisable text written on them. The only deities included are on two tablets that mention Mars and Diana,²⁴⁸ not unsurprising deities to find addressed in an amphitheatre, considering their connections to combat and hunting.²⁴⁹ It is probable that the location in the amphitheatre was chosen for curse tablet deposition because of the untimely and violent deaths that occurred in the arena, although this is not explicitly stated on any of them.²⁵⁰ The spirits of those who had died in such a manner were thought to be the prime candidates for enacting curses,

²⁴⁶ Wunsch, 1910; *CIL* 13.11340.1-14.

²⁴⁷ Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, 1984, p. 185.

²⁴⁸ CTNW 226 and 236.

²⁴⁹ The only other curse directed to Diana from the north-west is one of the three tablets from the Guildhall amphitheatre in London (CTNW 139).

²⁵⁰ For this association in circus curses see Heintz, 1998.

because of their latent anger as well as their greater ability for action as the most restless of the dead.²⁵¹ The nearby cemetery of dead gladiators, executed criminals and prisoners would have increased the location's magical potency, just as those near the circuses at Hadrumantum, Carthage and Rome did for curses against chariot racers.²⁵² At least one petitioner directly involved the spirits of dead gladiators in their curse, drawing a simple image of a helmet-wearing figure on their tablet (Figure 15).



Figure 15: Tablet with an image of a helmet-wearing head (CTNW 232). Wunsch 1910, plate II.1.

Unfortunately, we have no firm idea about the motives behind most of the Trier tablets. None of them state their purpose explicitly, but a juridical motive can be assumed for the tablet that mentions an *advocatus*.²⁵³ There are two potential prayers for justice, one which uses the common formula “*quia mihi fraudem fecit*” (the person who did me wrong), and another which may demand the return of money.²⁵⁴ There is no indication that rival performers or their supporters were cursing each other, as was common in other sporting venues across the Empire (mostly against chariot racers but occasionally gladiators and other fighters).²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ See for example *PGM* 4.296-466. Johnston (1999, pp. 71-80) discusses the role of the dead in ancient magic.

²⁵² Heintz, 1998, pp. 338-339.

²⁵³ CTNW 225.

²⁵⁴ CTNW 235 and 233 respectively. Variations of *quia mihi fraudem fecit* also appear on the following tablets: 36, 50, 53 (Bath), 134 (Leicester), 173, 181, 185 (Uley), 235 (Trier), 305 (Mainz).

²⁵⁵ For curses against *venatores* from the amphitheatre at Carthage see *DT* 247-54. For one against chariot racers, also from Carthage see *DT* 246. Many more examples, as well as a discussion, are given by both Heintz (1998, p. 339ff) and Tremel (2004).

Unusually for curses from the north-west, at least five of the tablets from Trier made use of magical signs and symbols more commonly found in the Greek east.²⁵⁶ These enigmatic symbols, often known as *charakteres*, have been little studied by modern scholars.²⁵⁷ They formed a central part of Graeco-Egyptian magical traditions, which put emphasis on mystical and unintelligible communications with supernatural powers. Only professional magicians with access to written spell books could perform these, so the words and symbols were closely guarded to maintain their authority.²⁵⁸ It is possible then, that there were some copies of these books in fourth-century Trier, brought in by the traders or attendants of the imperial administration who would have been increasingly common sights in the city in this late period. Nevertheless, there is no real evidence for the presence of scribes in the Trier tablets. They are written in different hands, and no two seem to use the same template, if they even existed in Trier at the time. Much like the other sites studied in this chapter, this seems to suggest individual petitioners making their own curses using whatever knowledge was available to them, even if this now included influences from eastern 'book-magic.'

Although the presence of these magical signs and symbols on the Trier amphitheatre curses is significant, they are less important for the purposes of this study, which aims to go further than previous scholarship focussed on such elements. When analysed from a phenomenological perspective it becomes apparent that the sensory experience of conducting curse rituals was very different at Trier than at the three sites already examined. Unlike the temple sites, the amphitheatre was not explicitly designed as a space for religious activity, and so there was no clearly demarcated location for conducting cursing rituals, nor any clear direction in which to face. No deity was explicitly venerated in the arena, so the tablets seem directionless and confused when compared to the more focussed temple curses. The occasional inclusion of Diana and Mars suggests that divine power was not felt to be absent from the amphitheatre, and as the overseers of

²⁵⁶ Outside Trier there are only four other curses from the north-west with these magical signs or symbols: CTNW 1 (Aylesford), 203-4 (Chagnon), 240 (Autun), 297 (Mainz).

²⁵⁷ There has been some recent movement, for example Dzwiza, at the University of Heidelberg, who is attempting to catalogue and analyse them. See Dzwiza, 2012 for an introduction.

²⁵⁸ There are constant admonitions to maintain secrecy in the *PGM*, partly because of the regular suppression of magic, but also to stop knowledge of the secret rituals spreading too far.

combat these two would have had special relevance in this context.²⁵⁹ However, the amphitheatre was located near to the two largest religious complexes in the city (the temples at the Altbachtal complex and on Herrenbrünnchen), so people may have associated the entire area with worshipping the gods, and could have walked past some of the temples on their way to deposit curses in the amphitheatre, focussing their minds on communication with the supernatural. It is even possible that they performed the majority of the ritual actions in these temples, before moving on to the amphitheatre for deposition.²⁶⁰ The amphitheatre was also located on the edge of the city, physically linking all the activities that went on there with Roman ideas about liminality. City boundaries were sacred, and demarcated the border between urban and rural, civilian and military, peace and war. By siting the amphitheatre in this location it was made into a place of confrontation between these worlds. As others have argued, it was where civilisation confronted nature, where justice confronted criminals, and where the Roman state confronted its enemies.²⁶¹ City limits were also a crossing-point between the worlds of the living and the dead, as no burials were allowed within the circuit of the walls, therefore situating the amphitheatre on the edge emphasised its role as a place where people often died. In effect, the amphitheatre represented an open door between the worlds of the living and the dead. Petitioners depositing curse tablets in amphitheatres and circuses were making use of this opportunity, hoping to induce movement across the threshold in both directions: the curse itself was moving from the living to the dead, and then the power of the dead was expected to move back into the world of the living to harm the victim.

It is unlikely that members of the general public would have been able to access the arena floor during normal operation of the amphitheatre, and by the time the Trier tablets were deposited it was illegal to perform magical rituals in Roman entertainment venues,

²⁵⁹ Although there is no evidence of permanent religious structures in the Trier amphitheatre, it is likely that, as with other arenas including the Colosseum at Rome, temporary shrines or *pulvinaria* were set up to receive divine images when games were given during festivals (Elkins, 2014).

²⁶⁰ Although there is only one curse from the Altbachtal district (CTNW 239), its existence suggests that the temples there could be considered appropriate places for cursing.

²⁶¹ Wiedemann, 1992, pp. 46-47.

so avoiding the authorities was paramount.²⁶² Although it is impossible to determine for certain, the petitioners could even have approached amphitheatre workers to have them deposit the curse on their behalf. In either case, the serious legal consequences of being caught makes it seem likely that the tablets were deposited with some degree of secrecy. The arena was designed to amplify sound from the performance space up into the stands, and even today the smallest sounds produce a noticeable echo around the whole building. Anyone digging into the sand of the arena floor to deposit a curse tablet would have been aware of these acoustics, and they could have enhanced the feelings of unease and anxiety about getting caught doing something with illicit connotations in such a place. These emotions would have been heightened by the understanding of the amphitheatre as a place of pain, confrontation and death. It is uncertain what state the arena would have been left in after performances, but there could be remnants of blood, body parts or animal dung mixed in with the sand.²⁶³ The sight and smell of these remains could have accentuated the association of the place with death and conflict, even more so if physically touched unexpectedly whilst digging. The weather may have had an effect on this too: moisture levels in the sand would have drastically changed the sensory experience of digging into it, and hot temperatures could have worsened the smell of human and animal remains.²⁶⁴ If the tablets were deposited here to manipulate the power of the untimely deceased, as is supposed, then their lingering presence would have increased the tension felt by those attempting to deposit curses, especially considering that they intended to disturb the rest of the dead further by forcing them to deliver or enact the curse. There was always the concern that the dead could attack the petitioner as well

²⁶² *Cod. Theod.* 9.16.11.

²⁶³ Kyle (2001, pp. 128-212) offers a detailed examination of the possibilities of disposal of the huge numbers of dead humans and animals produced by Roman blood sports. It seems that executed criminals were dragged out by public undertakers armed with hooks, to be dumped in mass graves beyond the walls. Animals killed for sport may have been butchered and distributed to the people in displays of largesse from the games givers. Nevertheless, it would have been almost impossible to remove all traces of blood and gore from the arena floor.

²⁶⁴ Something Weddle (2013) points out in her discussion of the experience of blood sacrifice.

as the intended victim, further adding to the sense of dread involved in cursing in this context.²⁶⁵

In this situation, the petitioners at Trier were to some degree at the mercy of the cultural sensitivities in which they were embedded.²⁶⁶ Their understanding of the amphitheatre as a place of confrontation and death inhabited by chaotic and vindictive spirits was influenced by common Roman cultural beliefs developed over many centuries and constantly being recreated in the behaviour of individual people, even out in the provinces. This understanding may have created feelings of fear and anxiety in the petitioners upon entering the amphitheatre at night: the prime time for the dead to be active in the world of the living. Perhaps this is the reason behind the brief nature of many of the curses; the petitioners wanted to spend no more time than was absolutely necessary in such a place.

2.2.5: *Bad Kreuznach*

Very little is known about Roman Bad Kreuznach (*Cruciniacum*), which seems to have been a small town on one of the main roads between Trier and Mainz. It must have been founded at some time in the early first century as a crossing point over the river Nahe, and seems to have been completely destroyed in the 270s.²⁶⁷ A large villa was built to the west, probably in the second century, and under Valentinian a military camp with large stone fortifications was constructed nearby.²⁶⁸ These two structures dominated archaeological attention during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so very little systematic exploration of the settlement itself has been conducted, exacerbated by the fact that much of the ancient town lies under modern buildings. What little is known about the town and its people comes from evidence recovered from the cemetery to the south, which saw burials from the first century onwards (Figure 16). The first-century town is the

²⁶⁵ Hence the protective formulas in *PGM* 4.449-56, which ensure the dead will only go after the victim, not the petitioner.

²⁶⁶ An important observation of phenomenological thinking, see Thomas, 1996, pp. 41-42.

²⁶⁷ Klumbach, 1969, p. 143.

²⁶⁸ Cüppers, 1990, p. 321.

shaded area marked *Vicus Cruciniacum*. The graveyard from which the curses came is to the south, and denoted by the circular dots).

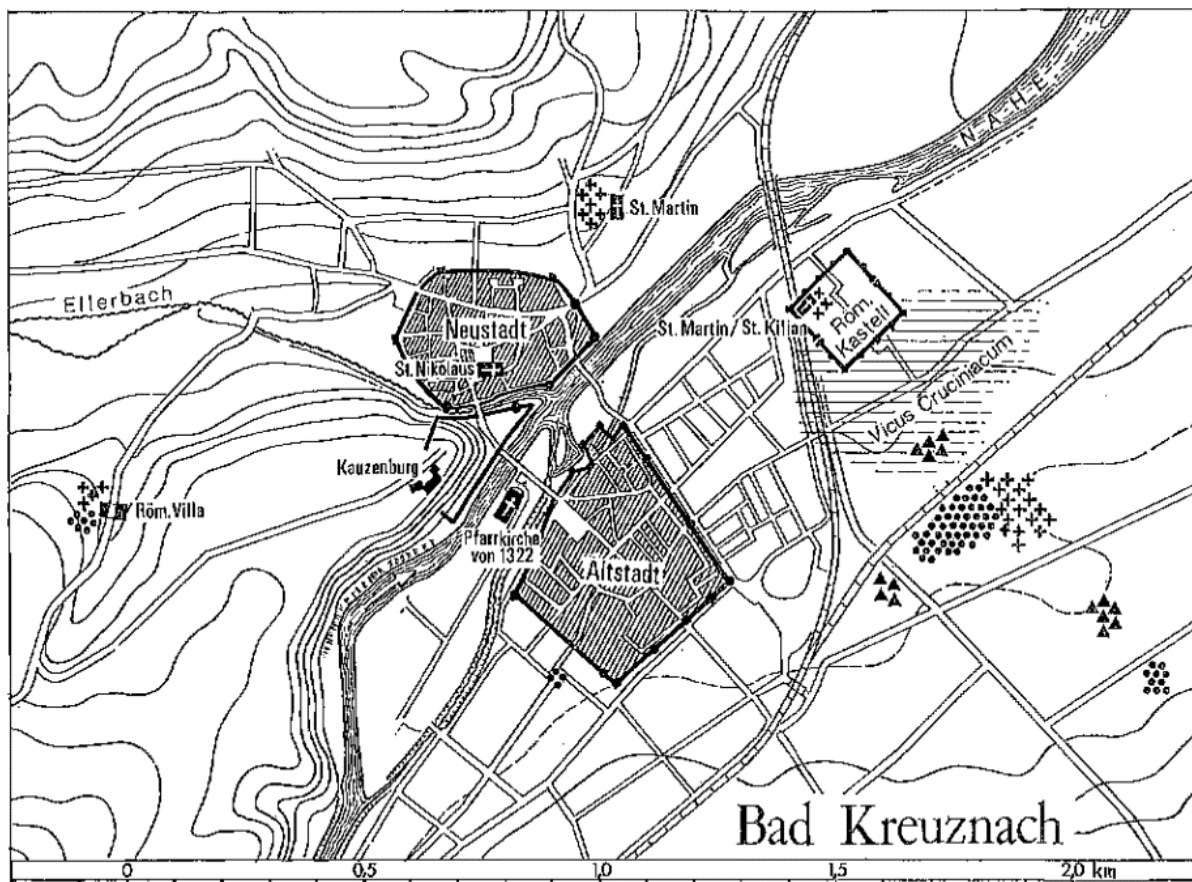


Figure 16: Plan of Bad Kreuznach. Klumbach, 1969, p. 145.

The curse tablets themselves actually form the bulk of this evidence, as they contain the names of around 70 individuals, including men and women, locals and immigrants, free people and slaves. The curses were found in pairs or threes throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and form two, or possibly three connected groups that share a handful of individuals within longer lists.²⁶⁹ Two of the tablets were found with coins of Vespasian, putting the date of the whole collection somewhere in the mid to late first century.²⁷⁰ The presence of the titles *apparitor* and *adiutorium* on some of the tablets, and the fact that the victims are often referred to as *inimicora*, *inimici* or *adversarii* has made scholars since Audollent conclude that they are almost all related to

²⁶⁹ The nine tablets found in the 1880s and 1890s all made it into *DT* and the *CIL*, and two further tablets were published by Oxé (1926).

²⁷⁰ Weckerling, 1887, p. 65.

legal trials. Four of the curses directly attack the victims' ability to inform, speak, respond or answer questions, further strengthening the conclusion about their motive. The lists of victims are extensive, especially on two tablets in particular that include over 30 between them.²⁷¹ Some names are repeated across the tablets, and it is quite possible that the individuals who are named multiple times were the ring-leaders of a conspiracy, or that they were the central members of a faction or business concern. The possibilities are virtually limitless, and unfortunately the tablets themselves do not point us in any firm direction.²⁷² Clearly there existed complex, interconnecting and ever-changing networks of personal and professional relationships in first-century Bad Kreuznach, the like of which is evident for much larger cities like Rome and Pompeii, but is perhaps surprising to find on this small, provincial scale.²⁷³

All the tablets, even the exceptional one motivated by love rather than litigation,²⁷⁴ give their victims to the gods or spirits of the underworld – either the *infern* or *dii manes*. This is consistent with their deposition location, and is certainly not uncommon among curses left in cemeteries in the north-west and also the wider Graeco-Roman world.²⁷⁵ Cemeteries, even more so than amphitheatres, were believed to be places where the boundary between the worlds of the living and dead was especially permeable in both directions,²⁷⁶ making them excellent locations for curse tablet deposition. The majority of the tablets were either folded or rolled before being placed in already-buried funerary urns. There is no reason to suggest that the tablets were deposited by anyone other than the petitioners themselves, and so it must have required a significant psychological and emotional strength of will to disturb burials in this way. The importance of not interfering with the dead is well known from Roman society, and punishments for doing so could come from both the living – in terms of the legal system – as well as from supernatural

²⁷¹ CTNW 267 and 271.

²⁷² The significance of this will be examined further in Section 4.3.

²⁷³ More will be said about the identities of the people involved in these curses in Chapter 5.

²⁷⁴ CTNW 275.

²⁷⁵ The curse from the cemetery at Chagnon in *Gallia Aquitania* (CTNW 203-4) sends the victims to Pluto and Persephone, and also uses a sympathetic magical formula based on the silent, lifeless nature of the dead bodies in the grave.

²⁷⁶ There are many places where this is clear in ancient literary sources, one example being Ovid's description of the *Feralia*, in which the souls of the dead issue from their graves and punish those who have ignored the festival (*Fast.* 2. 533-70).

vengeance wrought by the deceased. Quite apart from the fact that if caught they could face capital punishment,²⁷⁷ it was generally held that ghosts could attack those who disturbed their rest, something that caused the authors of some magical texts to include protective rituals when dealing with them.²⁷⁸ The writers of the Bad Kreuznach tablets were probably conscious of this, as they rarely named themselves, only doing so when clearly marked out in opposition to the intended victims.

Aside from the rolling or folding of the tablet there are few clues as to the other rituals that preceded deposition, and because of the lack of grave markers it cannot be determined whether the burials chosen had any distinguishing features such as a violent or untimely cause of death. The grave goods that accompanied the burials appear to be generic, again offering no clues as to who occupied the urns.²⁷⁹ Conclusions can be drawn, however, based on the dating. Both the graves and the tablets are from the first century, meaning that the curses were probably deposited within a few decades of the deceased's burial. It seems unlikely that the petitioners would want to disturb a close relative, but even so, considering the relatively small size of Roman Bad Kreuznach, the possibility of family connections between them and the dead should not be discounted. It is even possible that the curses were deposited during the funeral ritual itself, either conducted by the family themselves or with their agreement. Whether or not the petitioners knew the deceased in life, the dates are close enough that there may have been some vague knowledge of the circumstances in which they died, the sort of information that is impossible for us to obtain archaeologically in these circumstances. Here the petitioners were likely to have been under the sway of a whole swirl of emotions, thoughts and memories depending on their relation to the deceased or their family.²⁸⁰ Unease, fear and anxiety would be competing with the necessity of communicating the curse to the underworld. Had they lost their nerve at the crucial moment of deposition they

²⁷⁷ *Dig.* 11.7.39; 47.12.1; 47.12.7; 47.12.11.

²⁷⁸ *PGM* 4.449-56.

²⁷⁹ Oxé, 1926, p. 144.

²⁸⁰ The importance of considering memory and experience in phenomenological approaches to the past was argued by Hamilakis, 2014, pp. 197-198.

would have been leaving their fate in the impending court case to uncertainty, something that may have caused more fear than the possibility of angering the restless dead.

As a sensory experience, then, cursing at Bad Kreuznach has more in common with Trier than with any of the temple sites. The presence of death was prominent, both physically in the bodily remains of the deceased and also imaginatively in the spirits believed to be lingering around the cemetery. The action of digging down into the earth was present at both sites. Although the soil of the cemetery and the sand of the arena have different sensory profiles, both would have required physical effort and possibly bodily contact with the earth. Just as at Trier, the experience of digging in the cemetery at Bad Kreuznach would have been different depending on weather conditions, as temperature and precipitation both change the look, feel and smell of soil. The potential for unexpectedly touching human remains while digging is also present at both sites, and could have focussed the minds of the petitioners on the significance of what they were doing. As the curses at Bad Kreuznach all address the *infern* or the *manes*, the petitioners were already thinking about connecting with the dead, and so any physical contact would have brought these connections into sharp focus. As at the Trier amphitheatre, depositing curse tablets in the cemetery of Bad Kreuznach would have involved a sense of transgression and trespass. The curses also seem to reveal complex conspiracies or factionalism within the community, so fear of being caught in the act by those they were cursing could have also been weighing on their minds. As a result, unease and anxiety would have been accentuated whilst the petitioner was in the cemetery, perhaps causing them to speed up their actions in order to spend as little time as possible there. The curses could have been composed off-site to facilitate this, meaning the petitioners only needed to be in the cemetery for the deposition.

2.3: Conclusions

This chapter has described the physical, social and religious contexts in which curse tablets were produced and deposited at five sites in the Roman north-west. These

contexts shared some similarities that apparently made them good places to conduct cursing rituals: relatively convenient location in regard to settlements, religious significance and/or connections to the underworld or the dead, and some possibility of secrecy or privacy. Aside from these commonalities however, the sites vary considerably. Each of the temples, for example, was dedicated to different deities with no obvious mythological or theological connections, and who were worshipped in very different ways. None of the five sites were originally built with the intention of receiving deposited curse tablets, but were interpreted as good sites for such ritual activity by the individual people themselves, acting with consideration for the best ways to convey their petitions to the gods. The decision to conduct their communications in the places where they did was influenced by past actions of others, and these five sites in particular seem to have had meaning as places to successfully curse others attached to them by repeated ritual action. This repeated action created cultures of cursing at each individual site, especially at the temple sites where certain phrases and formulas became accepted as part of successful or correctly conducted cursing.

By analysing the physical and cultural contexts of specific locations of curse tablet creation and deposition from the perspectives adopted here, this chapter has deepened the understanding of the cursing rituals on the sites. As argued from the perspective of phenomenology, the petitioners of these curse tablets were embedded in their environment, which makes it an intimate and inseparable part of the ritual itself. Both the petitioner's actions and the understanding of those actions were influenced by sensations, memories and emotions prompted by the places, people and things around them at the time they were conducting the rituals, as well as in the time leading up to the performance itself. To an extent these sensations, memories and emotions will have been culturally determined, as with reactions to interfering with the dead at Trier or Bad Kreuznach, or the significance of boundary crossing within the temple complex at Bath, because cultural sensitivities are a crucial determining factor in reactions to experiences.²⁸¹ Alongside these cultural determinants, some of the sites imposed physical constraints on the

²⁸¹ Thomas, 1996, pp. 41-42.

movements and actions of petitioners. At Bath and Mainz, feelings of secrecy and mystery were emphasised by directing petitioners to restricted spaces that were separated from other parts of the complex. At Uley the constraints seem lower, but the lack of a primary context for the curses throws doubt on attempts to reconstruct the experience of petitioners. The unifying feature of the temple curses is the focus on the deities worshipped on the sites. As a result, petitioners in these places understood their curses as connected in some way to (but also distinct from) the other rituals that had been conducted, or were being conducted, nearby. There seems to have also been an acceptance, perhaps even an institutionalisation of cursing by the attendants and priests of these temples, which contradicts the popular image of cursing as shameful or taboo. However, cursing at Trier and Bad Kreuznach did not have the same sense of legitimacy, instead having connotations of danger and anxiety because of their close association with the world of the dead. All five sites had time constraints too. Petitioners at the temples had to be mindful of the sacred calendar and temple opening times, and both the amphitheatre and cemetery curses were probably deposited at night to avoid the risk of punishment if caught in the act of disturbing the dead.

The appreciation of these various cultural, spatial and temporal limitations is not to say that individual variations are not possible. Different people react to similar experiences in very different ways, depending on any of an infinite number of personal, environmental, social and cultural factors. Learning from the criticisms levelled at Tilley, it is important to remember that human experience is not homogenous. It has been shown in this chapter how weather at specific moments could have influenced the experience of digging to deposit a curse at Trier or Bad Kreuznach, and how different reactions were possible to the element of movement required to reach the temple of Mercury at Uley. Memory and past experience also had an impact on the understanding of conducting cursing rituals at any of these sites. Each individual would have been affected by factors such as familiarity with the site, previous worship of the deities and relationships with the deceased in the cemetery, not to mention the direct circumstances that sparked the decision to make the

curse itself – in these contexts mostly either the theft of a personal object, spurning by a lover or the announcement of a legal trial.

Everything described above, from the general cultural limitations to the specific individual factors, would have combined in different ways for each individual, producing subtle but fundamental changes in the way they carried out the cursing rituals, and the way they understood those rituals. In the next chapter I will consider more closely the actions and processes that the petitioners physically carried out, and which turned blank sheets of lead into powerful curses with the ability to influence their victims against their will.

Chapter 3: Rituals, Gestures and Movements in North-western Cursing.

3.1: Introduction

Curse tablets as objects are the physical remains of a series of actions, gestures and movements that could have included writing, speaking, folding, nailing and depositing. It was these actions that formed a central part of the curse ritual, not just the final written text, as it was these actions that attempted to create a powerful curse that affected people in the real world. Although these actions were of critical importance to the efficacy of the curse, previous scholarship on cursing has mostly ignored them, or given them a background role in favour of focussing on the written formulas.²⁸² This is likely to be partly due to the fact that the written words are the easiest aspect of cursing to discuss, framed as they are in our understanding of the Latin language. They also connect curses to more familiar features of Roman religious expression such as the setting up of votive inscriptions.

In this chapter I will challenge the focus of previous scholars on the written formulas at the expense of ritual actions. My argument rests on a reconceptualisation of curse tablets as the end products of a series of significant ritual actions, gestures and movements, rather than as simple inscribed texts. Thinking of the tablets in this way embraces their materiality, and will incorporate the interaction between the tablets and the bodies of the people who were performing the cursing rituals. Phenomenological thinking is central to this argument, as it was in the last chapter, because this argument requires that the petitioners be seen as embedded beings-in-the-world, who are intimately bound up with the material realities of the people, places and things around them. The impact of

²⁸² For example Kropp (2008b), whose book runs to several hundred pages of discussion of the curse formulas, but includes only a small and general treatment (pp. 80-121) of curses as rituals in themselves. Even Gager, who warns against focussing too much on “the innocuous piece of corroded lead” (1992, p. 20) devotes only a single page to folding, rolling and nailing.

this perspective on scholarly understanding of object production has been convincingly argued by Ingold. In what has become an influential article, Ingold argued that the activity of basket weaving can be seen as the epitome of human technical activity, in that it demonstrates the skilled interaction between the practitioner and her materials, as well as the rhythmic, narrative quality of skilled action, in which every action grows out of the one before.²⁸³ When making a basket, Ingold argues that the final form of the object comes into being gradually, through a pattern of skilled movement in response to the material realities of the fibres being used. Weaving requires care, judgement and dexterity, and must be grounded in an attentive involvement with the materials. In this chapter I will argue that thinking about curse tablets in a similar way to Ingold's basket can reveal new insights into their production and use. I will argue that each curse tablet was 'woven' by the petitioner in a ritual that was informed by the materiality of the lead and their own understanding of the process.

As a term, 'ritual' has had a difficult history within the discipline of archaeology. For much of the last century, many archaeologists put any object that they did not understand or to which they could not assign a functional purpose into the category of 'ritual,' with very little critical thought about exactly what they meant by using the term.²⁸⁴ Attempts to develop rigorous methodologies for identifying ritual in the archaeological record were made in the 1980s, based on characteristics of ritual such as "highly formalised or structured modes of behaviour"²⁸⁵ or its symbolic or expressive character.²⁸⁶ However, the characteristics that these are based on are too simplistic or general to be useful, and, as scholars have since pointed out, are shared by secular actions, for example baking a cake.²⁸⁷ Any generalised attempt to divide 'practical' or 'secular' actions from 'ritual' ones is impossible, because every ritual has a practical purpose – rainmaking, securing crop fertility, punishing an enemy – and every practical action is symbolic, in that it reproduces sets of social values and relations (for example building a house with room divisions that

²⁸³ Ingold, 2000a.

²⁸⁴ This problem was noted by Hodder (1982, p. 164), and he has been at the forefront of attempts to develop better methodologies and models.

²⁸⁵ Richards and Thomas, 1984, p. 191.

²⁸⁶ Renfrew, 1985.

²⁸⁷ Brück, 1999, p. 315.

segregate genders).²⁸⁸ Archaeologists and anthropologists have come to the realisation that ritual is too complex for simplistic definitions to be workable, and that it instead needs to be approached on a case-by-case basis.²⁸⁹ More consideration is now being given to the context of rituals, and the role that material culture plays not only in the practical performance of rituals but also in creating, sustaining and challenging the understanding of those actions.²⁹⁰

However, most recent discussions of ritual in archaeology have worked from the assumption that they are regularly and repeatedly performed by the same people.²⁹¹ The rituals characterised in these studies are imagined as part of some sacred calendar and performed in intentionally delineated sacred spaces. In this model, memories of past actions as well as cueing devices such as material culture and architecture serve to limit deviation from patterns that the performer has knowledge of through their own past experiences of performing. It is my contention that cursing rituals in the Roman north-west do not conform to this pattern. There is little evidence to suggest that any petitioner produced more than one tablet, and therefore it is possible that few of them had any past experience of conducting the rituals, although it is possible that they may have witnessed them being performed by others.²⁹² This adds a level of tension and unfamiliarity to cursing that is non-existent in more general archaeological treatments of ritual. The petitioners would have been entering uncharted territory, rather than going over well-worn ground. Although they may have sought advice from family, friends or religious authorities, the anxiety over getting something wrong would have been much higher than for someone repeating a ritual they had conducted many times before. Each tablet was produced for a specific reason, in response to a moment of uncertainty and possibly intense anger, frustration and fear in the life of the petitioner, and, as shown in the previous chapter, in response to the immediate context. Again, this adds further emotional dimensions to the ritual acts, which would have been different for each individual depending on their

²⁸⁸ Brück, 1999, p. 326 with Hingley, 1990, pp. 139-140.

²⁸⁹ Insoll, 2004, pp. 10-12.

²⁹⁰ Barrett, 1991; Barrowclough *et al.*, 2007.

²⁹¹ This is certainly the case for the following: Barrett, 1991; Briault, 2007; Fontijn, 2007; Morley, 2007.

²⁹²

situation. Phenomenological thinking is important here, as we need to treat the petitioners as embedded in their worlds, and intimately bound up with the physical, cultural and personal surroundings that were discussed in the last chapter, and which will continue to be discussed throughout this study.

One central aspect of ritual that has been discussed by scholars that is very important when considering curse tablets is the idea of transformation. Through the performance of rituals, power and meaning are given to spaces, objects and people. A more recent example of this comes from West Africa, where the performance of rituals by masked individuals gives the masks power and agency, and also temporarily transforms the individual into a being with supernatural power.²⁹³ Space is also transformed by ritual performance: processions, for example, generate traditional routes that take on religious significance and must be adhered to in future performances, regardless of subsequent changes in geography.²⁹⁴ Cursing rituals were inherently transformative on many levels. In a similar way to the African mask rituals, ancient cursing sought to transform raw materials into powerful objects with the ability to directly influence people or animals in the real world against their will. As part of this aim, the ritual attempted various other transformations and transmissions: in theft curses the stolen object or the thieves themselves could be transformed into divine property through formulas that gave them to the goddess; these and other curses could attempt to transform parts of the victim's body through sympathetic formulas, for example "just as salt becomes liquid in water, so shall his limbs and marrow waste away."²⁹⁵

At this point it is important to draw this discussion together and to state the definition of ritual that will be used throughout this chapter. As argued above, ritual can only be defined on a case-by-case basis, so the following definition is explicitly tailored to apply to cursing in the north-west. Cursing rituals in the north-west were highly individualistic

²⁹³ Mitchell, 2006, pp. 393-394.

²⁹⁴ Mitchell (2006, p. 395) gives the example of Orange marches in Northern Ireland. This can be demonstrated in the ancient world too, with the example of the *Sacra Via* in Rome, which was given its name either because the most sacred shrines of Rome stood along it or because it was the route of many religious processions (Platner and Ashby, 1929, pp. 456-459).

²⁹⁵ CTNW 309. I will discuss power and cursing in more detail in Section 5.4.

performances based on each petitioner's motives for cursing, as well as their understanding of local traditions, embedded in the contexts of their location at the time of performance. This not only includes all the factors discussed in the previous chapter – architecture, weather conditions, cultural sensitivities, individual circumstance, memory and so on – but also the materiality of the tablets and other objects used during the performance. I deem an action to have been part of the cursing ritual if it related in any way to the transformation of the blank sheet of lead into a powerful curse with agency in the real world. Aside from the writing of words onto the tablet this could include, but was not limited to, spoken words, bodily movement and gesture, manipulation or mutilation of the tablet or associated objects (such as dolls) and deposition. No specialist knowledge or training was required on the part of the individual petitioners, although advice may have been sought from various sources within each local context.

The process of creating a curse tablet can be broken down into roughly six steps. After the initial trigger – in the north-west usually either the theft of personal items or the announcement of a legal trial – the petitioner made the decision to compose a curse tablet (1). They then needed to obtain the required physical materials – at least a sheet of lead and a stylus, in some cases also one or more nails for piercing – and perhaps also some advice on how to go about the process (2). This probably came in the form of either knowledge circulating within the community and passed on by friends or family, or, in certain contexts, directly from the temple authorities themselves. In general, people seem to have taken writing as the first step in physically altering the tablet (3). This makes sense in terms of the transformation of the lead sheet into the curse, as writing physically ingrains the intention into the material, and transforms it into an object with power.²⁹⁶ This power could then be enhanced by further manipulation or mutilation (4) – commonly this involved folding, rolling or nailing – and would probably have been accompanied by an oral prayer (5). The final step was to deposit the tablet in a significant place (6), in the north-west this predominantly happened in temples, watery places, amphitheatres or

²⁹⁶ There are practical reasons for this ordering too, as it would be impossible to write on a tablet after rolling or folding.

cemeteries, as was shown in the last chapter. Step one, motivations for cursing, will be discussed in Chapter 4. In what follows, therefore, I will explore in detail the other five ritual steps: obtaining the tablet, writing, manipulating or mutilating the tablet, speaking words and the final act of deposition. Other than writing, few of the other actions that went into the production of the tablets were explicitly recorded in the texts. This makes reconstructing the ritual a challenge, but the physical state of the tablet itself can be seen as a record of the actions of the petitioner up to the point of deposition. By working backwards from that point, through the process of the ritual creation of the curse tablet, I argue that the series of actions that led to the finished product can be reconstructed.

Alongside this I have conducted some experiments myself, to get some sense of the experience of the physicality of the actions that went into producing curse tablets. These were limited by the resources available to me (modern materials produced using industrialised techniques), but my intention was to replicate the experience in as close a manner as possible. I obtained 1mm-thick sheet lead, which is the approximate thickness of many of the tablets found in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire, and experimented with writing on and manipulating the material. I tested a variety of writing styles including plain texts as well as reversed lettering. I also experimented with folding, rolling and piercing the tablets to assess the ease or difficulty of these actions. Although far from a rigorous scientific endeavour, the results of these experiments have given me a different sense of working with these materials, and have therefore given greater insights into the experience of conducting a cursing ritual in the Roman world. In what follows I will discuss the results of my own experimentation in the relevant sections.

3.2 Obtaining the tablet

There is no clear evidence from any site in the north-west for exactly where the petitioners obtained the raw materials necessary for the ritual.²⁹⁷ At the very least, each individual required a relatively flat tablet and a stylus to write with, and in some cases a nail for

²⁹⁷ I have discussed this in relation to Bath and Mainz elsewhere, see McKie, 2016, p. 18.

piercing. It is normal for scholars to assume that curses were written on tablets made from pure lead – to the point where this material has entered into the standard definition of a curse tablet²⁹⁸ – and that is presumably what many are in indeed made from. However, the tablets themselves have rarely been subjected to chemical analysis. The notable exception to the rule is the collection of tablets from Bath, and this revealed that only 14 tablets contained at least two-thirds lead, with only four of these being pure lead.²⁹⁹ The lead was alloyed with tin, most commonly in a composition that resembles modern pewter. Significantly, none of the Bath tablets are identical in chemical composition and thickness, suggesting that they were not mass-produced. As there was a concentration of pewter production in the region around Bath from at least the third century,³⁰⁰ this would suggest that the tablets were off-cuts or side-line products of local industrial production. Away from Bath such conclusions are harder to draw because of the lack of chemical analysis. However, visual inspection of the metal tablets has usually led scholars to assume that they are made from lead, and as the metal was a common material in the Roman provinces it is unlikely that it would have been difficult to obtain in the quantities needed to produce a curse.³⁰¹

How the tablets got into the hands of the petitioners is an important question, but one that does not have secure answers. If the suggestion that they were off-cuts or side-line products of local industries is accurate, the petitioners could well have obtained them directly from the producers. The presumption among most modern scholars is that they would have been relatively cheap to purchase, following Tomlin in pointing towards the low value of the objects reported stolen on the Bath curses.³⁰² At sites such as Bath and Mainz, where cursing was common, it is possible that the temple kept a store of blank tablets that the petitioners could buy, perhaps when they came to seek advice on the correct ways to approach the goddess. Wherever they got the tablet from, the process

²⁹⁸ Jordan, 1985, p. 181, quoted above in Section 1.1.

²⁹⁹ See Tomlin, 1988b, p.82 for a detailed discussion.

³⁰⁰ Lee 2009.

³⁰¹ Durali-Mueller *et al.* 2007.

³⁰² Tomlin 1988, p. 80, citing CTNW 92, which reports the theft of two silver coins. The logical conclusion is that the tablet is unlikely to have cost more than the value of the thing being reported stolen.

would have required some form of social interaction with another person, and therefore could have been the first time that the petitioner had expressed their intention to someone else. Even if they did not explicitly state that they were buying the object to make a curse tablet, in a society where this kind of ritual action was more common it would not have taken a huge leap of judgement on the part of the craftsman or temple attendant for them to work it out. This might be enhanced in the small communities of the north-western provinces, where the misfortunes of individuals would have been more widely known to others.³⁰³ For the petitioner this could have elicited a whole range of emotions, on which the temptation is to speculate endlessly. It could have been a moment of anxiety, fearing having their intentions revealed to others, or perhaps it could have been a moment of resolve, with a definite sense that the ritual was going to be performed and that justice was going to be served. It is entirely likely that each petitioner reacted to the experience differently, depending on their own individual circumstance, and so attempting to generalise here would be unhelpful.

3.3: Written words

The central position of the written word in Roman religion has been well established by scholars. Despite a lack of any single sacred book, in the manner of the Bible or the Qur'an, Roman religion did place importance and power on certain written texts, such as collections of oracles, recipe books and priestly texts.³⁰⁴ Pliny the Elder mentions that priests read the words of their prayers from written texts,³⁰⁵ meaning that collections of words to be used at various times must have existed, although none have survived. As well as written texts used by priests, ordinary worshippers could consult publicly-displayed calendars to ensure their own correct observance of festivals and other rituals. Through these written texts, the authorities maintained their control of religion through their power

³⁰³ The role of rumour and gossip in ancient cursing is discussed in more detail in Section 4.3.5.

³⁰⁴ Woolf, 2012, p. 198.

³⁰⁵ Plin., *N.H.* 28.10-11.

to organise time and to restrict access to communications with the gods.³⁰⁶ Alongside these, Roman temples were covered with other writings, not just durable stone inscriptions but also texts written by private individuals on perishable materials like wood, papyrus and wax.³⁰⁷ These could have been formal records of fulfilled or promised vows, or simply casual inscriptions and graffiti of visitors.³⁰⁸ Scholars have argued that writing something down and leaving it in the temple helped to define the place of the individual within the religious system, and if the individuals were explicitly named it confirmed and memorialised their presence at the temple at a specific time.³⁰⁹

Until recently, philological readings of texts such as these took precedent in scholarship, focussing on their content, for example their scripts, language and semantic meanings. In the last decade or so, scholars have moved away from these analyses towards examining the contexts and materiality of texts, looking at the mechanics of writing and problematising the definitions of ‘reader’ and ‘writer’.³¹⁰ Piquette and Whitehouse have argued that writing is inextricably embedded in material worlds, and is therefore directly informed by the properties of the materials used and cultural knowledge of things like script forms.³¹¹ Writing is only possible through direct bodily engagement with the materials, and demands certain postures and gestures involving the entire body – not just the hands, but also the arms, face, eyes and head.³¹² The form of the materials used in writing are shaped accordingly, for example the size to which many curse tablets were cut made them easy to inscribe while being held in one hand.³¹³ This meant that they could be inscribed without a specific writing surface, perhaps using the upper leg for support.³¹⁴ The comportment of the writer’s body while in the act of writing would have

³⁰⁶ Beard, 1991, pp. 55-57. The issue of writing and power has been further explored by Moreland (2001; 2006).

³⁰⁷ Beard, 1991, pp. 41-43.

³⁰⁸ For examples see MacMullen, 1981, pp. 31-34; Beard, 1991, pp. 41-42.

³⁰⁹ Beard, 1991, pp. 46-47; Rüpke, 2009, pp. 36-38.

³¹⁰ Examining the materiality of texts has been particularly fruitful, see Taylor (2011) and the articles in Piquette and Whitehouse (2013b).

³¹¹ 2013a, p. 3.

³¹² Ingold, 2000b, pp. 401-404. I have discussed the ritual significance of writing elsewhere, see McKie, 2016, pp. 20-21

³¹³ Some are too big for this however, in particular CTNW 299 and 309, both from Mainz.

³¹⁴ An observation made through my own experimental work.

made it obvious to onlookers what they were doing, especially at sites like Bath, Uley and Mainz where cursing was common.



Figure 17: Demonstration of an inscribed sheet of lead showing the shiny lettering. Author's photograph.

Unlike writing with ink on paper, writing on lead is not a process of adding to the surface of the material, but of physically carving the words into it,³¹⁵ meaning that the writing surface itself plays an active role in the process. The action of inscribing into lead or lead alloy removes the top layer of dull, oxidised metal, meaning that the text of the inscription catches the light and shines against the rest of the tablet (Figure 17). This could have enhanced the supernatural feeling of the act of writing, especially for anyone who had no experience of writing on lead. The varying nature of the materials used would have created a range of possible experiences here, depending on exactly what the petitioner was writing on. According to Tomlin,³¹⁶ pewter and other lead or tin alloys would have provided a smoother writing surface than pure lead, and could have been cast into thinner tablets. This may have made the experience easier, and possibly would have made it closer to the experience of writing on thin sheets of papyrus or wood, which may have been a more common experience for practiced writers.

³¹⁵ Although it is possible that some were written in ink – see Schwinden, 2004, p. 15.

³¹⁶ 1988, p. 82.



Figure 18: Front and back of CTNW 39 (Bath), showing the hammering used to create a flat tablet.

Author's photograph.

Also worth considering on this point are the two tablets inscribed on ceramic.³¹⁷ These would have been much harder to achieve, requiring concentration and perhaps repeated scratching with the stylus to ensure that the letters could be read. However, the Châteaubleau curse is one of many Celtic texts inscribed on tiles found in that town, so it seems to be part of a local tradition peculiar to that local area.³¹⁸ Perhaps the experience was not so unusual for that particular petitioner.

Alongside the material there were other practical concerns. The tablets were often irregular in shape, there were casting flaws to avoid, as well as interference caused by whatever method was used to ensure a flat surface – usually hammering or scraping (Figure 18). Many petitioners adapted their writing style to compensate for bumps, dips and holes in the tablet, and often changed the direction of the words to fit better onto the tablet.³¹⁹ This would have been easier to achieve for those who had experience of writing in their everyday lives, and could therefore transfer the skill into the unfamiliar context of cursing.³²⁰ The widely varying quality of the handwriting on display in the curses from the

³¹⁷ CTNW 214 and 242 – inscribed on a potsherd and a roof tile respectively.

³¹⁸ Mees, 2011, p. 87-8.

³¹⁹ For example CTNW 142.

³²⁰ Bowman and Woolf, 1994, pp. 5-6.

north-western provinces shows that experience and practice were not compulsory criteria for composing curses, and the small collection of pseudo-inscriptions from Bath point to a culture in which even illiterate people could petition the deities in this manner.³²¹ There is no repetition of petitioner names anywhere from the north-west, and with the possible exception of CTNW 60 and 170,³²² there are no two tablets written in the same hand, so even for practised writers the experience of composing a curse tablet would have been unfamiliar. No doubt they would have been aware of the significance of the new purpose to which they were turning their skill, and the added power involved in writing for this purpose.

The majority of curses from the north-western provinces were written entirely in a single hand, but a small number of tablets show more than one.³²³ With one exception, namely CTNW 255 from Larzac,³²⁴ all of these are from either Bath or Mainz. Of the seven examples from Bath, two have the petitioner's name written in a different hand (CTNW 45 and 65) and three have the victims' names written in a different hand (CTNW 2, 6, 66). The other two consist of a jumble of texts in a number of hands written over and around each other (CTNW 12, 24). When curses with petitioner or victim names written in a different hand to the rest of the text have been found in other parts of the Roman world, they usually form caches of multiple tablets that share a single author, that is to say that they were probably produced by scribes or specialists.³²⁵ Although the evidence does not support the existence of such individuals operating at Bath, it seems clear that on at least these few occasions the curses were not written by a single petitioner. Perhaps the main petitioners were not confident in their ability to write more than their own names or the names of their victims, and entrusted the more complex formulas to a more literate

³²¹ CTNW 26, 27, 28, 82, 93, 95. It is possible that the tablets from Les Mans are also pseudo-inscriptions, but they have not all been fully interpreted yet (Chevet, pers. comm.).

³²² In some publications (see, for example, 1989, p. 330 and 2002, p. 172) Tomlin has claimed that one Bath tablet (CTNW 60) and one Uley tablet (CTNW 170) may have been written by the same person. Although he has not issued a full, unambiguous retraction of this possibility, the comparison seems to have dropped out of his most recent discussions of these tablets (see, for example 2010, pp. 249-50, 268 and 2011, p. 152). No doubt the ambiguity will be resolved when the Uley tablets are fully published.

³²³ CTNW 2, 6, 12, 24, 45, 65, 66, 255, 299, 307.

³²⁴ One line at the top of the second side of this tablet is in a different hand to the rest, but the sense is continuous.

³²⁵ Gager, 1992, p. 14.

person: perhaps a friend, family member or temple attendant. The cases of CTNW 12 and 24 might suggest that a number of individuals were present at the ritual, and took turns in writing their intentions on the tablet as it was passed between them. In this respect they have some similarities to the two Mainz curses with multiple authors (CTNW 299 and 307), which both have a different script on the two sides of the tablet. Again, the most likely possibility is that the tablet was passed between two individuals for them to write their respective sections of the curse. The texts on the two sides of CTNW 299 were sufficiently different for Blänsdorf to suggest that they might even be two separate curses.³²⁶ Whether this conclusion is accurate or not, it is clear that more than one individual was involved in the ritual on this occasion.

At this point, a brief excursus on ancient literacy is relevant. Harris, whose *Ancient Literacy* (1989) is still the most comprehensive work on the subject, concluded that literacy levels in the imperial period never rose above 10% of the population.³²⁷ This view of literacy as the preserve of the elite is a common one, but has been challenged both by evidence that Harris chose to ignore and by new evidence that has come to light since the publication of his book, particularly the Vindolanda tablets and many of the curse tablets studied in this thesis.³²⁸ Harris took a very restrictive view of literacy, confining himself to material relevant to the elite and ignoring the participation of semi-literate and non-literate people with written culture.³²⁹ In reality, there would have been a huge range of competencies in reading and writing in the ancient world, and it is probable that more could read than could write.³³⁰ Semi- and non-literate people could be involved in the production of written texts, for example as bronze workers or stonemasons,³³¹ and also in the reception of texts, through oral performance by others or simply knowing that certain

³²⁶ Blänsdorf, 2012, p ADD.

³²⁷ Harris, 1989, p. 272.

³²⁸ Responses to Harris began soon after publication, see particularly the contributions to Humphrey, 1991. For the Vindolanda tablets see Bowman and Thomas, 1974; Bowman *et al.*, 1994; Bowman and Thomas, 2003. There are also the recently-discovered writing tablets from London, published earlier this year (Tomlin, 2016).

³²⁹ A criticism developed by Bowman (1991, p. 123).

³³⁰ Moreland, 2006, pp. 141-142.

³³¹ One good example is a gravestone (AE 1931: 112), which includes the line “*hic iacet corpus pueri nominandi* (here lies the body of the boy... insert name).” The letter-cutter copied out the words verbatim, without realising they were meant to insert a specific name (Carroll, 2007/2008, p. 47).

texts were important in some way, without being able to decode them fully.³³² The evidence of the curse tablets, particularly the British examples, has forced a reassessment of levels of written proficiency, especially in rural communities like Uley and Ratcliffe-on-Soar (Notts.).³³³ The existence of an as-yet unpublished tablet from Uley that is in Latin but written in Greek letters is particularly surprising, and should make us think more carefully about rural literacy.³³⁴ The curses written in Celtic using the Latin alphabet found in Britannia and Gaul should also force a reassessment of literacy in the north-west.³³⁵ As a result, there is no reason to think that all the petitioners who wrote curse tablets in the north-western provinces were part of Harris' literate 10%. The skills needed to write a curse were not only available to the educated elite, and the individuals named on the curses themselves are a testament to the access to the ritual available to those of all social classes, as will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

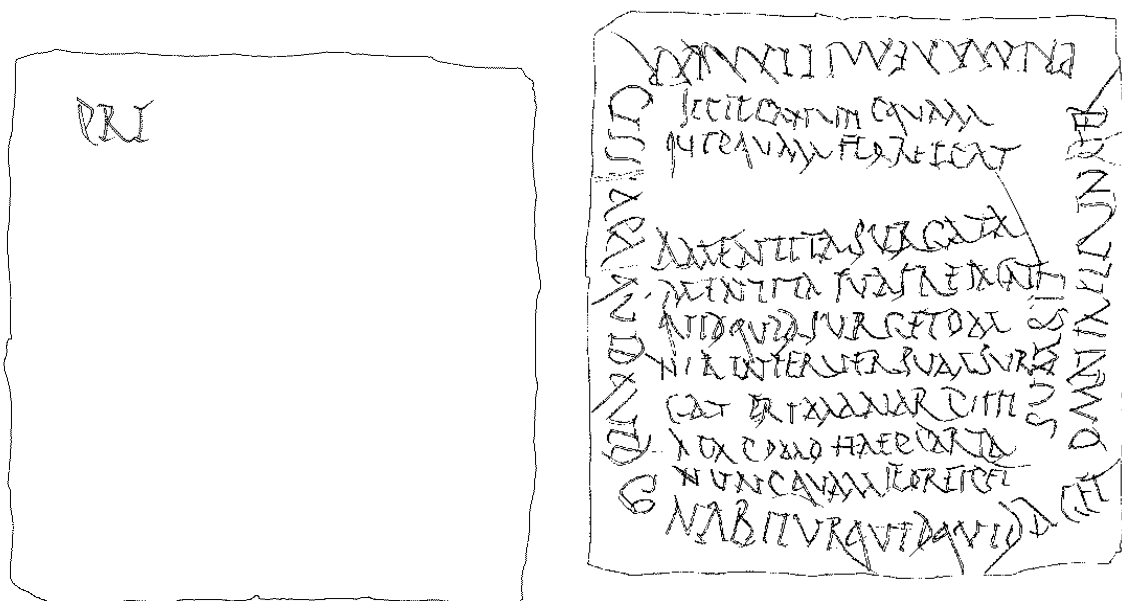


Figure 19: Front and back of CTNW 296 (Mainz). Blänsdorf 2012, pp. 134-135, figure DTM 15.

To return to writing curse tablets, one example from Mainz illustrates the creative and performative nature of the ritual perfectly (Figure 19). The petitioner began writing

³³² Piquette and Whitehouse, 2013a, p. 6.

³³³ Tomlin, 2002; Mullen, 2013.

³³⁴ Tomlin, 2002, p. 175. Provisionally included here as CTNW 196.

³³⁵ The significance of cursing in Celtic will be discussed further in Section 5.3.2.

normally on one side then changed their mind, turning over the tablet and starting again in a more ‘magical’ style – spiralling the text around the outside. When all four sides were full the petitioner started writing in the centre of the space left in the middle, and when the space ran out again they wrote the last two lines at the top of the tablet. The petitioner did not have a plan before they started, but made it up as they went along, fitting their text both to their own interpretation of magical writing and to the physical realities of the tablet. The movements of flipping and rotating the tablet and the physical action of carving the words into the metal with a stylus are woven into the text – to use the terminology of Ingold’s basket³³⁶ – and all would have had significance to the petitioner as they attempted to add more power to their intention. These actions are unique – as far as we know, no-one else in Mainz or even in Roman Germany thought to write some of the curse as edge text in this way.³³⁷

This single instance of concentric text is not, however, the only tablet to exhibit manipulation of the way in which text was written. Standard Latin texts on stone inscriptions or papyri were written from left to right, with the letters all formed facing the same direction, and with subsequent lines written under each other. Many curse tablets followed these writing conventions, but some chose to actively reject them in various ways. The most common manipulation, which featured on 26 tablets from the study area, was to write in retrograde, from right to left.³³⁸ Most of these texts kept standard letter forms, but a few also formed them as ‘mirror-images.’³³⁹ Mirrored letters are also found on some ‘straight texts,’ as petitioners chose to do things like mirror each instance of the same letter, for example the ‘E’s on CTNW 68 (Bath). One particular petitioner took this idea to the extreme, mirroring most of the ‘C’s, ‘D’s and S’s, also inscribing some of the ‘A’s upside down and some of the ‘E’s and ‘I’s sideways (Figure 20).³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Ingold, 2000a.

³³⁷ Examples from the elsewhere do exist; however the edge text is usually made up of magical *charakteres* or other formulas. See *DT* 218 and 227, both from Carthage. The only other similar text from the north-west is CTNW 142, from the River Thames at London.

³³⁸ For example CTNW 89 (Bath).

³³⁹ For example CTNW 74 (Bath).

³⁴⁰ CTNW 125 (Clothall).



Figure 20: CTNW 125 (Clothall). Westell 1931, p 291, figure 8.

Other writing styles found on some tablets include writing alternate lines upside down,³⁴¹ writing in boustrophedon – alternating right to left and left to right³⁴² – and writing from the bottom up rather than top down.³⁴³ No strong pattern emerges from these various methods of textual manipulation, and I would argue that none should be sought. As we have seen, each tablet is the product of a series of creative moments, influenced by the world in which the petitioners were embedded. Some had plans before they started, but others clearly made it up as they went along, manipulating their inscription in whatever way they saw fit, often haphazardly and with mistakes.³⁴⁴ The ultimate aim of doing so was probably to add power to the words by making them harder to read, and therefore more mysterious.³⁴⁵ The twisting of the words could also directly enhance the twisting and binding that the curse was intending to unleash onto the victim. Clear evidence for this

³⁴¹ CTNW 127 (East Farleigh).

³⁴² CTNW 1 (Aylesford).

³⁴³ CTNW 19 (Bath).

³⁴⁴ The mistakes are not unexpected when people are writing in non-standard styles. From my own experimentation I noted how difficult this was to achieve, especially in cursive, which has far fewer symmetrical letter forms than upper case.

³⁴⁵ The relationship between cursing and power will be discussed in Section 5.4.

belief comes from a tablet from a cemetery in Cologne,³⁴⁶ which was written from right to left and includes the line:

...perverse agas quomodo hoc perverse scriptum est

...you act perversely, even as this writing is perverse.

The petitioner has directly connected the 'perverse' backwards writing to the actions of the victim, making it the explicit source of the tablet's transformative power.

3.4: Manipulation and mutilation

It was not just the text that could be manipulated, but also the tablet itself, and actions of manipulation and mutilation were very common features of cursing rituals across the north-west.³⁴⁷ Around 45% of the 312 tablets from the study area were either folded or rolled, and 11% were pierced. Within these groups there is no set pattern – the number and direction of folds, the tightness of the roll or the location of the nail holes were all chosen by the individual petitioners or determined by the nature of the tablet itself. Most petitioners seem to have folded the tablet so that the words were covered, and where the tablet was inscribed on both sides it was usually the first side that was hidden. However, it appears to have been just as valid to leave the tablet unfolded, as many petitioners did. When nails were used they usually hit part of the text, meaning that the nails were driven through the tablets after they were inscribed.³⁴⁸ However, sometimes they missed the text, which means that in these cases the petitioner either left an area clear for nailing when writing, or pierced the tablet before it was inscribed.³⁴⁹ There is an interesting case from Bath, where the writing has been carefully coordinated on both sides so that both instances of the name of one of the victims, Anniola, would be hit by the nail (Figure 21).

³⁴⁶ CTNW 259.

³⁴⁷ I have also discussed these actions elsewhere: see McKie, 2016, p. 21.

³⁴⁸ CTNW 60, 62, 80, 81 (Bath), 129 (Glos. or Avon?), 131 (Hockwold-cum-Wilton), 138, 141, 143, (London), 152 (Puckeridge-Braughing), 157 (Silchester), 191 (Uley), 239 (Trier), 276, 287, 295 (Mainz).

³⁴⁹ CTNW 51, 58 (Bath), 122 (Caerleon), 125 (Clothall), 148 (Old Harlow), 199 (Uley), 260 (Avenches).

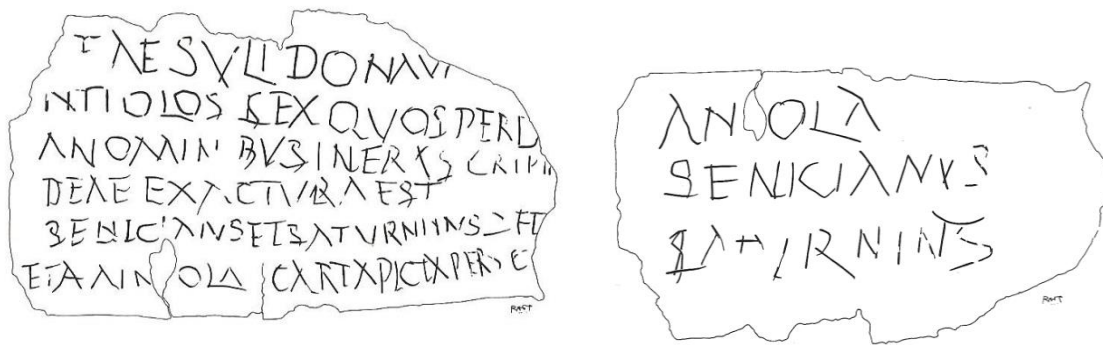


Figure 21: CTNW 62 (Bath). Tomlin 1988b: 118-9, figure *Tab. Sulis* 8.

These actions seem to have been intended to add power to the curse, potentially making it more likely to succeed. Folding and rolling may have acted to conceal the words, sealing them in until read by the deities or the spirits of the dead. These actions could also have had connotations of fixing and binding, as they enveloped the words, keeping them in place. They would have been relatively easy to achieve by hand for the majority of able-bodied petitioners, as lead is a soft and malleable material. From my own experimentation I have found that multiple folds become progressively more difficult to perform, which is perhaps the reason for the high proportion of tablets folded only once or twice.

Folding and fixing the tablet in these ways connected the curse tablets to bodily gestures of binding, which were well-known across the Graeco-Roman world but appear rarely in literary sources. Inscriptions outside some temples in the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire stipulated requirements for entry into the sanctuary, placing bans on the usual groups considered unclean – criminals, menstruating women, and people who had had contact with blood, childbirth, sickness or death.³⁵⁰ On top of these, some temples prohibited entry to people wearing shoes or belts, or with their hair tied back, in other words, people who had deliberately bound or tied some part of their body.³⁵¹ Openness was also expected in bodily comportment: Pliny the Elder suggests that crossed fingers, knees or legs were considered signs of malicious magic, and were therefore forbidden in

³⁵⁰ Chaniotis, 2010, p. 218.

³⁵¹ Examples include the temple of Asklepios at Pergamon (3rd century AD: Sokolowski, 1955, no. 14), the temple of Zeus and Athena on Delos (imperial period: Sokolowski, 1962, no. 59), and a temple on Lindos (3rd century AD: Sokolowski, 1962 no. 91).

the presence of generals, priests and magistrates, where they could be seen as a deliberate attempt to impede public business.³⁵² Unbinding, on the other hand, could actively promote easy resolution of medical conditions such as difficult childbirth. Pliny describes a ritual for speeding delivery, in which the father ties his belt around the mother, and then unties it saying “I have tied it, and I will untie it.”³⁵³ The *PGM* take inspiration from these gestures, often including binding and tying gestures in recipes for making curse tablets, as well as in other rituals aimed at controlling both humans and supernatural forces. One particularly illuminating example instructs the petitioner to engrave their curse onto lead, and then throw it into a drain, a stream or the sea tied to the end of a cord attached to the bank, so that it could be untied and the spell broken should the need arise.³⁵⁴ If the petitioner did not think they would want to break the spell in future then they were to tie the cord around the tablet with 365 knots before depositing, thereby apparently making it unbreakable.

Taking all of these together – the temple inscriptions, Pliny’s examples and the spells in the *PGM* – it can be seen that Graeco-Roman culture attached meaning to gestures of tying and binding, interpreting them as suspicious and potentially dangerous for the smooth running of normal society. It seems likely that the actions of folding and rolling a curse tablet could be seen within these traditions, as a folded curse tablet could be conceptually similar to folded arms or bound clothing. This could be used to the advantage of people seeking to directly influence events in cursing rituals, but their intentions would be recognisable to any onlooker. Alongside the culturally-determined meanings of folding, rolling and nailing, the actions could also have had a role in the transfer of pain and suffering onto the victim, who was intimately connected to the tablet by the inclusion of their name in the written curse.³⁵⁵ Naming in this context did not just make the tablet symbolically stand for the victim, but made it physically part of their body, which could be burned in a fire, drowned in water or made to suffer pain through inflicted

³⁵² *HN*. 28.17.

³⁵³ *HN*. 28.9.

³⁵⁴ *PGM* 7.429-58.

³⁵⁵ Kropp, 2008b, p. 85.

wounds. The above-mentioned curse against Anniola is a case in point, as the repeated instances of her name were aligned such that they would be stabbed by the same piercing action.

On other tablets the action of nailing was repeated, and the multiple stabbing of the lead sheet could have produced a cathartic effect in the petitioner.³⁵⁶ From my own experiments I have determined that it is possible to push a nail by hand through a sheet of lead of the thickness of many of the tablets (around 1mm), but not without some physical exertion. Piercing thicker tablets, such as CTNW 27 (Bath), or doing so after folding, such as on CTNW 131 (Hockwold-cum-Wilton), would have required either considerable strength or a tool such as a hammer. In either case, the physical and destructive nature of the action could have helped relieve some of the emotions and tensions felt by the petitioner in the moment of ritual performance – anger at the victim for whatever they had done, hopelessness in the face of perceived injustice, or uncertainty about what would happen in the future. One of the Uley tablets was repeatedly stabbed with some force after inscribing,³⁵⁷ an action which is perhaps a result of the petitioner taking out their emotions on the tablet. Another extreme example of mutilation is the sole tablet from the Roman cemetery at Clothall,³⁵⁸ discussed above for its strange writing style. After inscribing their curse with backwards, upside down and sideways letters, the petitioner then drove five nails through the tablet, four of which survive. They also made smaller holes in the centre of the tablet, through which they passed thin lead wire that acted as a binding.

Again, all of these were gestures and actions that required certain postures and movements, and these would have been immediately recognisable to any onlookers. Hammering a nail into a folded tablet creates noise too, which may have attracted attention. This may not have been such an issue at the temple sites of Bath and Mainz, where petitioners were guided to secluded locations by the architectural arrangement of the buildings and therefore were unlikely to have been watched or overheard. At other,

³⁵⁶ Dungworth, 1998, p. 156.

³⁵⁷ CTNW 191.

³⁵⁸ CTNW 125, Figure 20.

more open sites like Uley, those around the petitioner could easily have come to conclusions as to what they were doing by the sights and sounds of their actions. From this, rumour and gossip may have spread through the community, perhaps making their way to the victims themselves.³⁵⁹

3.5: Spoken words

It would be naïve to assume that there was no spoken component of cursing rituals in the north-western Roman provinces: orally delivered prayers were the most important part of many aspects of Roman religion. In the words of Pliny the Elder “a sacrifice without a prayer is thought to have no effect, or not to count as a proper consultation of the gods.”³⁶⁰ Although formal prayers for official sacrifices may have been written down, as discussed above, it was the oral recitation of them by the priests that gave them religious force and meaning. This follows on from some ancient philosophical discussions, in particular Plato and Aristotle, who argued that spoken words were more honest and powerful than written words. These authors claimed that the written word had little importance in and of itself, and only stood for speech.³⁶¹ This might be hard for people in the modern world to grasp, and Ingold has argued that the development of print literacy since the Renaissance has profoundly impacted on the perception of language in modern Europe.³⁶² Speech is now seen as the emulation of written language, which has been institutionalised and standardised, removing much of what gives spoken utterances their “illocutionary force”: i.e. their power to produce effects in the people and things around the speaker. In many non-literate societies around the world, words are seen as a kind of energy, an energy which is especially potent in the context of magic.³⁶³ For the Songhay people of Niger in West Africa, the actual sounds of magical incantations are what are thought to have the effect on the victim. They are described as “magic arrows,” which fly from the sorcerer and

³⁵⁹ The importance of gossip and rumour in magic has been shown by Stewart and Strathern (2004) and will be discussed further in Section 4.3.5.

³⁶⁰ *HN*. 28.10.

³⁶¹ *Pl.*, *Phdr.* 274-7; *Arist.*, *Int.* 1.16a.

³⁶² Ingold, 2000b, pp. 399-400.

³⁶³ Stoller, 1989, pp. 115-117.

physically strike the victim, causing lethargy, nausea or diarrhoea.³⁶⁴ Similar beliefs were held in the Roman world too, where words were seen as gestures in themselves; physical actions thrown into the world by the movement of the lips and face.³⁶⁵

Quite apart from all of this, the presence of an oral component to cursing rituals is apparent from even a cursory glance at the written inscriptions on many of the tablets. Only a rare few include long texts that set out the victim's name(s), why they are being cursed and the punishments expected. Many curses contain only lists of names or even less descriptive formulas like *nomen furis* (the name of the thief).³⁶⁶ The scholarly assumption with these tablets is that the address to the deities, the motive for the curse and the expected punishments were all spoken aloud by the petitioner while they were either writing, manipulating or depositing the tablet. As these words were spoken in the presence of the supernatural powers that were expected to carry out the curse, either in temples of the gods or in places where the restless dead lingered, speaking aloud could be seen as a more effective as a method of communication than leaving a written request. This also feeds back into the earlier discussion of literacy levels among petitioners in the north-west. It could be that those with less-developed writing skills only felt comfortable writing names on the tablet itself, especially at a moment of heightened emotion and stress when concentrating on writing could be too difficult. For those with more experience of writing it would have been easier, especially if they had planned their curse beforehand, as some of the Mainz tablets suggest by their complex rhetorical structure.³⁶⁷ Even these elaborate curses are likely to have had some oral component – perhaps a reading of the text, or a brief committal prayer at the moment of deposition.

The exact form of oral prayer spoken over each curse tablet is lost to us because spoken words are ephemeral and temporary, vanishing as soon as the sound waves dissipate. However, pragma-linguistic studies of the curse texts have attempted to reconstruct the language of the oral components, under the assumption that they did not

³⁶⁴ Stoller, 1989, p. 119.

³⁶⁵ Gell. NA. 10.4.4, discussed by Corbeill (2004, pp. 15-20, 26). See also Kropp, 2008b, pp. 210-214.

³⁶⁶ For example CTNW 38 (Bath).

³⁶⁷ CTNW 305 and 306 are good examples, as they contain bicolons, tricolons and alliteration.

differ significantly from the written words on the tablets.³⁶⁸ These are important analyses, because ultimately it was the words spoken or written by the petitioner that affected the transformations inherent in the cursing rituals. Kropp notes two different classes of formulas in the Latin curse tablets: performative and transformative.³⁶⁹ Performative terms encompass statements of manipulation (i.e. piercing, binding, submerging, melting), committal (i.e. handing over or giving), request (i.e. “kill him”) and cursing.³⁷⁰ These formulas do not simply refer to the actions performed, but play an essential role in the performance of the ritual: without them the rituals would have no effect.³⁷¹ As well as these performative functions, the words of curse formulas can also be transformative. The best examples are the sympathetic magical formulas, for example “just as this lead disappears and falls, thus falls their youth, limbs, life, ox, grain and goods.”³⁷² Through these words the petitioners hoped to effect direct, immediate physical transformations in the real world. Formulas like this, which Kropp calls “godless,” had no explicit addressee, but worked through the brute force of the utterances alone, much like the magic arrows of the Songhay.³⁷³

Alongside the conclusions drawn from linguistics, contextual factors should not be forgotten. Where the petitioners were will have had an impact on what they said, and also how those words were said. Depending on who was nearby, within sight or hearing range, the petitioner may have felt more or less confident and comfortable voicing their curse aloud. Being caught disturbing the dead in the graveyards or amphitheatres could result in a death sentence,³⁷⁴ so we should probably imagine the petitioners speaking quietly in these locations. Acoustics in such places can also do strange things to sound: echoes can bounce off gravestones and around arena seating, amplifying the voice, and enhancing the fear of being overheard and exposed. At the temple sites the petitioners may have felt more confident knowing they were in places where prayer to the gods was common,

³⁶⁸ Particularly Kropp (2008b; 2010), who has applied the ‘speech-act’ theories developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1971).

³⁶⁹ Kropp, 2010, pp. 360-376.

³⁷⁰ Kropp, 2008b, pp. 145-160.

³⁷¹ Kropp, 2010, p. 360.

³⁷² CTNW 256 (Montfo).

³⁷³ Kropp, 2008b, pp. 234-235. Power and cursing will be discussed further in Section 5.4.

³⁷⁴ *Dig.* 47.12.1; 47.12.7; 47.12.11.

especially if they phrased their curse in respectful or flattering terms, like *deae sanctissimae Suli* ('most holy goddess Sulis': CTNW 60). Although they may have never composed a curse tablet before, each individual petitioner may have had previous experience of conducting (or at least witnessing) other rituals in the temple and these familiar memories will also have influenced their feelings, perhaps making them bolder, and more sure of success if they believed past prayers had been granted. Especially at Bath and Mainz, where petitioners were guided to enclosed or private spaces, the anxiety of being overheard or overlooked would have been lower, creating a more intimate moment of communication between them and the deities.

3.6: Deposition

The final step in the process was deposition. At various times scholars have suggested that curse tablets may have been displayed somewhere in the temple complex before deposition, in an attempt to publicise the fact that the curse had been placed.³⁷⁵ Without this step, it was argued, it would be impossible for the victim to know that they had been cursed, and therefore it would have no effect. Kiernan in particular has argued that publicly displayed curse tablets could be similar to the *nuncupatio* part of votive rituals, in the sense that they record a contract between humans and gods.³⁷⁶ I find these arguments unconvincing, as there is plenty of evidence both from the ancient world as well as anthropological studies of more recent cultures that suggest that there is no necessity for a victim to be explicitly aware of a curse for the intended outcomes of the curse to appear, and rumour, gossip, guilt, or shame can all influence symptoms that resemble malign magic.³⁷⁷ It is only after symptoms are manifest that a search for evidence of cursing is suggested, usually by a magical specialist enlisted after medical

³⁷⁵ Dungworth, 1998, p. 155; Kiernan, 2004b, p. 131; 2004a, pp. 108-110.

³⁷⁶ Kiernan, 2004a.

³⁷⁷ The importance of rumour and gossip for magical practices in ancient and modern contexts will be discussed in detail in Section 4.3.5.

professionals are unable to produce a cure.³⁷⁸ Victim testimonies from the ancient world are rare, but the story of the chameleon in the classroom of Libanius is illuminating. The great orator had been suffering from inexplicable bouts of gout, as well as the inability to speak to his students, causing fear and alarm in both himself and his friends. Doctors could offer no cure and the symptoms continued to worsen, until eventually a search of his classroom was conducted, and the offending chameleon produced. Someone had removed one of its front legs and stitched the other into its mouth, silencing it.³⁷⁹ These mutilations of the chameleon were enough to explain the gout and the speechlessness, symptoms which had struck Libanius before specific knowledge of the curse had come to light. Although it may seem strange to modern eyes, in Roman society the belief in magic, or at least the fear of its results, was endemic.³⁸⁰ This is summed up in the words of Pliny the Elder, quoted above, who stated that “there is no-one who does not fear to be bound by dreadful curses.”³⁸¹ In this kind of cultural climate, every individual would have known whether something they had done could have made them a target for a curse, especially if they were part of a common target group like lawyers, orators or thieves.³⁸² Quite apart from this widespread culture of fear, the petitioners themselves would trust the power of the gods to enact the curse, and no further strategies would be necessary in their mind. In fact, keeping the curse between themselves and the gods or spirits involved could actually enhance its possibility of success, because without knowledge that the curse had been placed there was no chance of the victim attempting to protect themselves with amulets, warding gestures or counter-curses.³⁸³ All this considered, I would argue that it is most likely that petitioners deposited their curse as soon as they could, rather than displaying it somewhere first.

³⁷⁸ The work of the Hungarian healer discussed by Kis-Halas (2012) is a prime example. Thorough searches of the victim’s home by the healer always turn up some piece of magical paraphernalia placed there by an enemy or black magician.

³⁷⁹ Lib., 1.245-50.

³⁸⁰ Kiernan, 2004b, p. 123.

³⁸¹ *HN*. 28.4.19.

³⁸² Gager, 1992, p. 121. Cicero also tells an anecdote about another lawyer who blames every lapse of memory on evil spells and curses (*Brutus* 217).

³⁸³ Ogden (1999, pp. 51-52) calls this the ‘magical arms race.’ For amulets see Gager, 1992, pp. 219-222, for protective gestures see Eitrem, 1953, p. 602 and Corbeill, 2004, p. 32. One of the Mainz tablets specifies that the victim not be able to redeem themselves through counter-curses (CTNW 299).

As discussed in the previous chapter, the reason for depositing curses in temples, graveyards, amphitheatres and watery places was that they were the most efficient locations in which to communicate with the gods or the spirits of the dead. They were believed to physically reside in these places, so communication was easier here than elsewhere. Deposition at Bath probably occurred through the three windows of the gallery into the spring, an action that had the effect of crossing a boundary from a part of the temple occupied by humans to one occupied by the goddess. As already discussed,³⁸⁴ any objects deposited in the spring would have disappeared immediately on contact with the opaque water, further heightening the sense of giving the object to the goddess. The religious significance of this boundary crossing was not lost on the petitioners, and was present at Mainz too, where deposition took place in purpose-dug pits behind the statue of Magna Mater. At both of these sites and others across the north-west there are magical formulas that harness the performative power of falling or descending, of giving objects or people to the deities and of contact with water or fire.³⁸⁵

Aside from the conscious reasons of communication and power, it has been suggested recently that there also may have been psychological reasons for the action of deposition, especially when related to curses motivated by theft.³⁸⁶ The physical action of dropping the tablet into a spring or hole where it is immediately obscured could have been a method of dealing with the loss of the stolen item through a sense of regained control – the petitioner was symbolically regaining control over the stolen property by giving it to the deities through the cursing ritual. This is cathartic again, like the actions of nailing or folding, and most likely contributed to the purging of negative emotions from the petitioner.

There may have been a communal aspect to some performances of the deposition part of the cursing ritual, especially in those cases where multiple authors are evident in

³⁸⁴ Above, Section 2.2.1.

³⁸⁵ Falling/descending: CTNW 257 (Montfo), 265 (Bad Kreuznach); giving to the god: CTNW 38, 47, 51, 57, 58, 75, 84, 89 (Bath), 119 (Brandon), 129 (Glos. or Avon), 130 (Hamble), 134 (Leicester), 139 (London), 180, 181, 184, 195, 196 (Uley), 217 (Trier), 266, 269, 270, 271, 272, 274, 275 (Bad Kreuznach), 305 (Mainz); water: CTNW 66 (Bath); fire: CTNW 289, 300, 301 (Mainz).

³⁸⁶ Cousins, 2014, pp. 57-58.

the written words on the tablet.³⁸⁷ It is even possible that several petitioners came together at the same time to deposit their individual tablets, whether related to the same event or not. Unfortunately the find contexts of almost all of the curses in this study, particularly those from Bath, Uley and Mainz, make it impossible to determine if there were any depositional relationships between them. The only location where such an analysis is achievable is Bad Kreuznach, where some tablets had been deposited in the same graves.³⁸⁸ It is relatively safe to assume that two curses found in the same grave, which both name Fructus Gracilis as a victim, were related.³⁸⁹ Cursing together might have strengthened group solidarity in the face of a common problem, and a wide-ranging legal trial would seem to fit this analysis. However, in some of the cases from this site the association between tablets creates more confusion, rather than less. CTNW 265 and 271 were found together, and a certain Sinto Valentis is named as a victim on both, suggesting a connection in terms of intention. However, the petitioner of 265, Quartio, is named as a victim on 271, which makes the association much more complicated. Quartio was almost certainly not cursing himself, and it is hard to imagine a situation in which he could be being secretly cursed by the person he was standing next to at the graveside. The indication here is certainly not one of a simplistic divide between prosecution and defence, but of tangled and overlapping webs of relationships between individuals within a community.³⁹⁰

3.7: Conclusions

In Chapter 2 I demonstrated how the physical contexts of cursing influenced both the experience and understanding of the petitioners before and during their performance of the rituals. In this chapter I have argued that every action, gesture and movement that went into creating a curse tablet was significant for its overall meaning. Ingold's example of basket weaving demonstrates that the final form of objects grows from the mutual

³⁸⁷ See above, Section 3.2.

³⁸⁸ The picture presented by these tablets is incredibly complicated, and will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.2.

³⁸⁹ CTNW 272 and 273.

³⁹⁰ These kinds of social relationships will be discussed in Sections 4.3.5, 4.3.6 and 4.3.7.

involvement of people and materials in an environment, and throughout this chapter I have argued that this is just as applicable to curse tablets. Rather than “growing like a fungus on the substratum of religion,”³⁹¹ rituals like curse tablets were an integral part of the debates around how best to approach and communicate with supernatural powers, and were connected intimately to culturally-defined strategies that attempted to ensure success in religious endeavours. The religious significance attached by Graeco-Roman society to elements such as the nature and interpretation of binding gestures, the power of spoken and written words, the importance of naming and the sacredness of certain places all directly influenced (and were influenced by) cursing rituals. None of this was monolithic or static, but was continually challenged, revised and reinforced by the successive actions of individuals over time.

Alongside this, and working with it, there is the wide individualistic streak in cursing rituals. Although there are few strong patterns across the whole corpus of the tablets, each individual curse had its own internal logic and consistency, based on the creative decisions made by the individual petitioners in the moments of performance. Each step in the ritual process contributed to the curse as a whole, and was geared towards strengthening and enhancing the desired fate imposed on the victim. There are connections within each performance of the cursing rituals between the words written and spoken, the manipulative actions performed on the physical tablet and the manner and location of deposition. All of these elements contributed towards the ultimate intent of the specific tablet, as well as its final physical form, but do not necessarily translate to an easily definable standard that would be visible on a general level. This chimes with observations in modern religious studies that emphasise the lived experience of religion, which requires practical coherence and efficacy for the individual, rather than logical coherence on a wider societal level.³⁹²

³⁹¹ Luck, 2000, p. 204.

³⁹² McGuire, 2008, p. 15; Primiano, 1995; 2012.

Chapter 4: Motives and Motivations

4.1: Introduction

In the previous chapter I argued for the central role played by physical and religious contexts in the form and function of cursing rituals. As I have made clear, it is impossible for modern scholars to understand ancient curses without taking into consideration the settings in which the rituals were performed. However, as pointed out in the six steps of a cursing ritual,³⁹³ arrival at the location of deposition was not the beginning of the process. Every curse tablet ritual performed in the north-west was carried out with an intention on the part of the petitioner, and each intention was particular to that individual: they were all responding to a specific crisis in their lives. Fortunately for us, many of them included details of this event in the text of their tablet, so reconstruction of the motives and motivations behind the curses is possible. This chapter sets out to explore the reasons why people in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire sought the intervention of supernatural powers in the form of curse tablets. In so doing, it will not simply be asking about the issues that the curses are directly attempting to address, but also the underlying social structures that made cursing a possible reaction to the situations that presented themselves to the petitioners. Again, this is an argument of context. Instead of studying curse tablets in academic isolation, this chapter seeks to examine them as embedded within the communities and societies in which they were an important feature of life. Taking this approach is vital because it allows us to assess properly how cursing rituals fitted into broader strategies for getting on with life.

To make a clearer distinction between the academic isolation of some previous scholarship and my own embedded perspective I will make a division between 'motive' and 'motivation'. I am defining 'motive' as the issues directly referenced on the tablets themselves, whether implicitly or explicitly. These describe the events that triggered the petitioner to write the curse in the first place, and they have been the focus of scholarly

³⁹³ See above, Section 3.1.

observation and categorisation over the past century. It is the 'motive' mentioned on the tablet (either implicitly or explicitly) that causes it to be categorised as an erotic, juridical, competition or commercial curse, or a prayer for justice. Usually this can be determined from a specific statement in the curse text, the identification of a victim by their occupation (chariot racer, gladiator, lawyer and so on) or some other clue in the curse language.

These categories were developed by Faraone³⁹⁴ and Versnel,³⁹⁵ based on the pioneering work of Audollent.³⁹⁶ This model, which is to be found in almost every major work on curse tablets from Audollent onwards,³⁹⁷ focusses on the short period of time centred on the performance of the cursing ritual, from the event that prompted the curse through to the successful deposition of the finished tablet.

However, to focus solely on the issues addressed by the individual tablets, as is the norm in most scholarship, is to ignore or deny the social contexts in which they were made. People in the Roman north-west lived within complex webs of relationships with the other people around them, and had at their disposal a variety of strategies for negotiating their way through them. Magic, including curse tablets, was just one option available when an individual wanted to harm a rival or promote their own interests. It was perfectly possible not to employ such methods and instead to do something else, or nothing at all. In cases of theft, for example, the individual could have confronted the accused directly or pursued them through the legal system. Countless thousands of Romans must have dealt with their problems without resorting to cursing the people who caused them; however, the very existence of curse tablets indicates that in certain circumstances, and to certain people, cursing those who they believed had done them wrong was a reasonable or logical option, and offered more chance of success than the other options that their social context presented.

³⁹⁴ 1991.

³⁹⁵ 1991a.

³⁹⁶ 1904, p. xc. Audollent's original categories were 'judicial and against enemies', 'against thieves, tricksters and slanderers', 'amatory' and 'against chariot racers and gladiators'.

³⁹⁷ This is certainly true after the categories were reworked by Faraone (1991): see Gager, 1992; Ogden, 1999; Eidinow 2007b; Kropp, 2008b. Before then, Audollent's categories were used, but with less rigidity – see, for example, Preisendanz (1972), who divided curses into 'political', 'juridical', 'hate and love' and 'circus'.

To answer the question “why did people curse?”, I intend to look past the motives stated on each tablet, and on which most scholars since Audollent have focussed, into the deeper, longer-term cultural factors that both created the circumstances in which curse tablets could be used and shaped the forms and features of the individual tablets themselves. I have termed these factors ‘motivations’ and their origins can be found on various scales of interaction within Roman society, from widely-held beliefs about the nature and outcomes of human and divine justice, to an individual’s desire to see personal rivals humiliated in public. My analysis builds on the work that previous scholars have done in outlining the motive categories, but takes it further to examine the possible reasons as to why people in the Roman north-west chose cursing as the method through which they would attempt to alleviate the crisis situations in which they found themselves. I will do this by examining the texts of the curse tablets from the north-western provinces, and considering them from within their social and archaeological contexts.

Like previous scholars who have attempted to answer the question as to why ancient people used curses, I will be looking primarily at the texts themselves, and assessing what they explicitly or implicitly reveal about the motives and motivations of their authors. My take on this differs from what has gone before not only in my focus on the north-western provinces, a region that has often been a side-note in the study of Graeco-Roman magic, but also in the greater emphasis I give to the social, legal and religious settings of cursing rituals within the study area. This will involve a wide-ranging discussion of Roman attitudes towards human and divine justice, the legal system as it operated in the north-western provinces and the social structures that existed in provincial communities. Where there are gaps in the ancient evidence I will support my argument with comparative material from ethnographic and anthropological studies of more recent societies in which belief in magic was (or still is) present. I have already brought in some examples from other cultures to help think about the ancient evidence in new ways,³⁹⁸ but in this chapter I will apply anthropological case studies in a more systematic way. Basic numbers will also be discussed, but no sophisticated statistical analysis is possible

³⁹⁸ See above, Sections 3.1 and 3.4.

because of the nature of the data. The massive numbers of tablets from Bath and Uley would slant any quantitative analysis, and make the situation in Roman Britain seem the norm across the whole study area, which is unlikely to be the case. I will therefore critically select curse texts from across the entire study area when they are pertinent to the discussion, keeping in mind the specific contextual circumstances, as well as how these individual instances contribute to the broader picture.

4.2: Motives

Over a century of curse tablet scholarship, from Audollent onwards, five categories of motive have been established and reinforced: competition, commercial matters, juridical matters, love (the four categories of archetypal 'binding' curses) and prayers for justice. These categories have been built on surveys of the entire corpus of surviving Graeco-Roman curse tablets, and are certainly a useful tool when conducting discussions of ancient magical practice in general, or, because of the wider variety of motives and the larger body of surviving evidence, when focussing on the Greek curses in particular. Both Gager and Eidinow divided their studies of cursing along the lines of these categories, allowing trends and similarities to be identified.³⁹⁹ However, as has been occasionally pointed out by scholars, curses fitting into these categories are not evenly spread across time and space, with some more popular than others in various specific historical and social contexts.⁴⁰⁰ As Eidinow noted, the validity of the existing taxonomy must remain an object of enquiry, and its use must be conditioned by close observations of the details of individual tablets.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ Gager, 1992; Eidinow, 2007a.

⁴⁰⁰ Ogden, 1999, p. 4.

⁴⁰¹ Eidinow, 2007a, p. 155.

Motive	Number of Tablets
Unspecified	175
Prayers for Justice	114
Juridical	17
Love	4
Other	2

Table 4: Totals of Audollent/Faraone motive categories found on curse tablets from the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire.

Motive	Number of tablets
Theft Unspecified	36
Theft Clothing	21
Theft Money	19
Theft Jewellery	10
Theft Domestic Objects	9
Theft Tools	7
Theft Livestock	6
Other Prayer For Justice	6
Burglary	5
Theft Other Specific	4
Embezzlement	4
Perjury	2
Theft Cooking Vessels	2
Theft Agricultural Produce	2

Table 5: Breakdown of prayers for justice category into sub-categories based on type of theft.

Among the 312 tablets collected in this study, the text on 175 was either too corrupted or too vague to give any indication of motive. Of the remaining 134, the overwhelming majority were prompted by instances of theft or some other wrongdoing, putting them into Versnel's 'prayers for justice' category (see Table 4). Aside from the juridical curses, many of which came from the cemetery at Bad Kreuznach,⁴⁰² the other Audollent/Faraone categories are mostly, if not entirely, absent from the north-western provinces, making them much less useful as tools for analysis. Therefore, to make the divisions more relevant for the evidence under study, the prayers for justice have been sub-divided into 14 further groupings based on either the object(s) stolen or a more detailed description of the motive (Table 5).⁴⁰³ However, although these new divisions of

⁴⁰² CTNW 265-275.

⁴⁰³ It should be noted that the total number of tablets in Table 5 is greater than that in the 'prayers for justice' row of Table 4. This is because some of the curses, like, for example CTNW 123

the tablets give added nuance to the discussion of the motives behind their composition, they are still warped by factors not readily apparent when looking at the numbers alone. As is the case when studying curse tablets from the entirety of Graeco-Roman history, analysis on a scale this wide obscures regional and temporal variations which may result from specific historical and cultural factors.

When the motive categories are examined by province, certain trends appear that may relate to these contextual factors (Figure 22). Roman Britain dominates all the theft categories, and theft is almost the only motive from that province. Within theft curses, clothing and money are the most commonly stolen items, followed by jewellery and domestic objects. Aside from theft, the only other sizeable category is the juridical category, most of which come from Germania Superior, specifically the cemetery at Bad Kreuznach. Moreover, the close dating of the curses from this cemetery seems to point to a unique individual case. Most of them appear to refer to the same trial, with repeated naming of some related individuals. This is another restatement of the value of my context-focussed analysis, as these specific circumstances can become lost when analysis does not move beyond larger scales and on to the site level.

(Caistor St Edmund) and 173 (Uley), complain of the theft of multiple objects, and therefore fit into more than one of these new sub-categories.

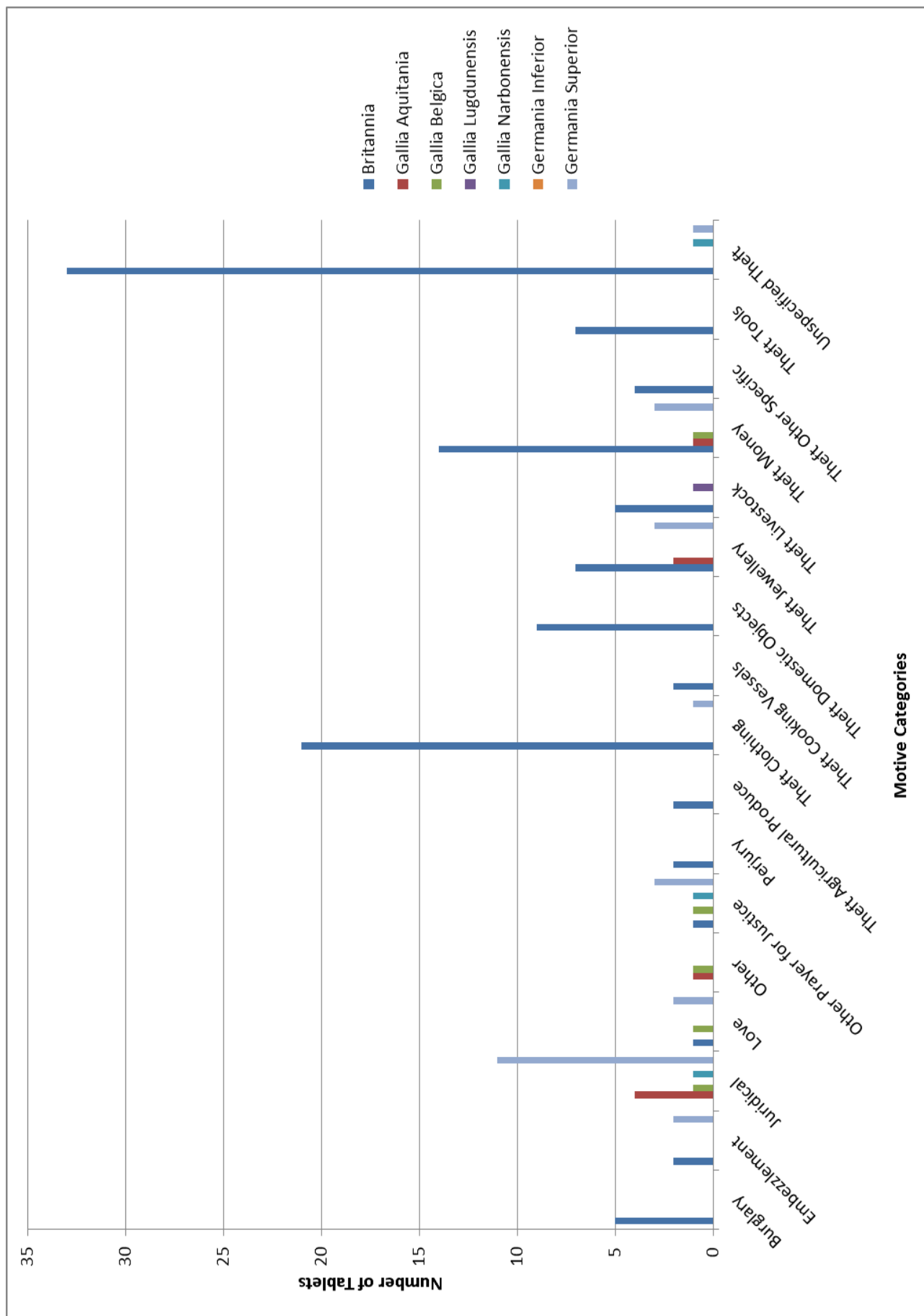


Figure 22: Graph of motives sorted by province.

In the first half of this chapter I will take a fresh, context-specific look at the Audollent/Faraone categories, and assess their relevance for the curses from the north-west. This task has not been performed by any other scholar, and it is my contention that the categories are found lacking when applied to this body of evidence. Therefore in the second half of the chapter I will move beyond them and attempt to delve deeper into the social contexts in which the tablets were made.

4.2.1: Theft

As has already been mentioned, the predominant motive for composing a curse tablet in the north-western provinces was in response to the theft of a personal item. Most of the items stolen were portable objects or small amounts of cash, probably taken by opportunistic thieves, but there are a few cases of stolen livestock, burglary from homes or the embezzlement of loans or deposits, all of which would have required a certain amount of premeditation or planning on the part of the thief.⁴⁰⁴ Tomlin has suggested that many of the items recorded on the Bath curses were stolen from the baths themselves.⁴⁰⁵ Bathhouse thieves were enough of a menace in the Roman world to warrant an entire section of law codes in the writings of jurists,⁴⁰⁶ so this conclusion has merit. However, some of the objects reported missing on the Bath tablets, such as Civilis' ploughshare⁴⁰⁷ and the things robbed from Deomiorix's house,⁴⁰⁸ could not have been stolen in the bathhouse. These and the many curses against thieves from other contexts show that they were not always composed directly after discovering the theft, especially where they were deposited at sites that were a considerable distance from population centres, as already discussed with regard to Uley.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴ For example CTNW 162, 173, 181 respectively.

⁴⁰⁵ Tomlin, 1988b, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁰⁶ *Dig.* 47.17.

⁴⁰⁷ CTNW 54.

⁴⁰⁸ CTNW 18.

⁴⁰⁹ See above, Section 2.2.3.

Scholars have usually classed curses against thieves as prayers for justice, the category coined by Versnel in 1991 and subsequently defended throughout his later work.⁴¹⁰ The distinction between prayers for justice and binding curses rests on several potential criteria, namely:

- The petitioner is named, rather than anonymous.
- His/her actions are justified or defended.
- The petitioner requests that they be spared any possible adverse effects.
- Language of flattery or supplication is used, rather than coercive or binding formulas.
- Tablets appeal to, and are deposited in the sanctuaries of, non-chthonic deities.⁴¹¹

No tablet is expected to adhere to all of these at once, and indeed some of the characteristics are apparent on curses traditionally placed in the other categories. Nevertheless, the general points stand up very well to the evidence, including the tablets from the north-west included in this study. There is, however, a problem with some of the terminology and language often used by scholars when describing or explaining these tablets. Versnel in particular has been at pains to emphasise the legitimate, sanctioned nature of the language in prayers for justice, to the point where he doubts that they can even be called 'magic' – hence the use of the word 'prayer.'⁴¹² The image that Versnel and others have created around these tablets is one of people legitimately seeking due recompense from a higher authority after the wrongdoing of another person. This image has masked the often violent nature of the punishments meted out by these tablets, which can brutally attack the victim's mind and body and also their social relationships, effectively isolating them from the community. Unlike the juridical, competition and love spells found both in the north-west and the wider Roman Empire, very few of the prayers

⁴¹⁰ See especially Versnel, 2010 for a forceful restatement of his case, which also incorporates new curses found between 1991 and 2005.

⁴¹¹ Adapted from Versnel, 1991a, p. 68.

⁴¹² Versnel, 2010, pp. 323, 331 and Versnel, 1991b *passim*. This distinction is questioned by some other scholars, including Ogden (1999, p. 38).

for justice aim to gain influence over the victim in the short term, but seek to inflict punishments that are without end, or that result in their death.⁴¹³ As an example, consider this curse from Groß-Gerau, in Germania Superior:⁴¹⁴

*(h)umanum qui<s> sustulit Verionis palliolum sive res illius qui illius minus
recit ut illius mentes memorias deiectas sive mulierem sive eas cuius Verionis
res minus fecit ut illius manus caput pedes uermes cancer uermitudo interet
membra medullas illius interet*

The person who has stolen the cloak of Verio or his possession, that he made decreased, thus his thoughts and memories are destroyed, whether a woman or those, whoever has reduced the property of Verio; worms, tumours and vermin shall invade his hands, head and feet, they shall invade his limbs and marrow.

Despite the slightly confused text, the general sense can be decoded: Verio has condemned the victim to horrific infestations across their whole body, inside and out, for the relatively minor crime of stealing a cloak.⁴¹⁵ This is not justice in the strictest sense of the term, which would imply punishments being decided with impartiality and rationality to fit the nature and severity of the offence. It certainly bears no relation to Roman law, which saw theft as mostly a private matter, and only required convicted thieves to pay a fine equal to the value of the stolen item, plus a little extra in compensation.⁴¹⁶ Instead, the emotional and irrational sense of this text and many others should be considered more as a plea for vengeance, which sought the disproportionate punishment of perceived wrongdoers, far beyond the normal limits of justice as defined by the legal system.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Something noted by Gordon, 2013a, pp. 273-274.

⁴¹⁴ CTNW 263.

⁴¹⁵ Although it is worth noting that textiles were not cheap in the ancient world, and could have been the most expensive thing a poor person owned. Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices values cloaks at between 2000 and 12000 *denarii*, a huge sum considering the same Edict puts a farm labourer's wages at 25 *denarii* a day (for the Edict see Frank, 1940, pp. 310-421). This could be a reason for why thefts of clothing were so often reported on curses.

⁴¹⁶ *Dig.* 47.2.9; see also, Riggsby, 2010, pp. 187-190. Unless the thief came at night, or in the day-time and armed, in which case the Twelve Tables state that it was legal to kill them (*Dig.* 9.2.4.1).

⁴¹⁷ Versnel (2002, p. 49 n. 42) has expressed concern about the application of the term 'vengeance' to prayers for justice, on the basis that it does not always occur. Although this concern

This could lead to a potential motivation for cursing against thieves that has not previously been examined by scholars, namely the failing of Roman law to punish such people to an extent that would appease victims of crime. The fact that theft cursing was so prevalent in Britain could also point to the existence of a more robust response to theft in the indigenous culture, something that went unsatisfied by the Roman system.⁴¹⁸ The rest of this section will explore the implications of this possibility.

The legal system may have been hard for people towards the bottom of the social scale to access, especially slaves, for whom it would have been impossible to prosecute thieves. Roman property laws were clear that most of the possessions of dependents – not only slaves but also women and children – remained the property of the *paterfamilias*, and therefore it was up to him to bring legal action in the event of theft.⁴¹⁹ The result of this was that slaves such as Servandus, the petitioner of a curse from Leicester against the thief of a cloak, had little choice but to appeal to the gods for help.⁴²⁰ For free inhabitants of the provinces, access to the courts was in theory open to all citizens, but in reality depended on the “vagaries of travel and the inclinations of Roman officials.”⁴²¹ The law was administered by the emperor’s representatives in the province, most importantly the governor, but also his staff of legates and military officers, to whom he could delegate policing and legal responsibilities depending on the many other duties and concerns that pressed on his time.⁴²² Although the magistrates made regular circuits of their jurisdictions, they could not reach every corner of a province, nor would they have had the time or disposition to hear every case.⁴²³ Naturally it would have been easier to access a judge in large, important towns like Mainz and Trier, but for the residents of smaller, more

is valid when applied to some cases, I do not think it should prevent us from pointing it out on the many tablets where it does occur.

⁴¹⁸ Watkin (2007, p. 2863) suggests that, as theft was considered the most heinous crime in medieval Welsh law, it could have been similar in the pre-Roman period. Pursuing this line of argument is fraught with difficulties however, as there is no surviving evidence for iron age law in Britain, and there are serious questions over the applicability of medieval manuscripts to earlier periods.

⁴¹⁹ *Dig.* 49.2.60, see also Rodger, 1990, p. 158.

⁴²⁰ CTNW 134.

⁴²¹ Bradley, 1997, p. 206.

⁴²² According to Ulpian it was the governor’s responsibility to hunt and punish “committees of sacrilege, bandits, kidnappers and thieves” *Dig.* 1.18.13. See Fuhrmann (2012, pp. 182-187) and Korporowicz (2012, p. 137) for more detailed discussions of provincial policing.

⁴²³ Korporowicz, 2012, p. 148.

rural settlements, the Roman legal system would have been out of reach in practical terms. In these circumstances, and in these social contexts where the belief in magic was endemic, it would not have been illogical to turn to extra-legal channels at times of personal stress such as becoming the victim of theft.

Although the punishment of thieves in Roman law began with fairly mild impositions of fines, Ulpian states that by his time it had become increasingly common to prosecute them according to criminal law, opening up the potential for corporal and capital punishments for lower-class thieves.⁴²⁴ According to Harries, this may have been driven by developments in social perceptions of crime and punishment, which no longer focussed on compensating victims but instead valued exacting revenge from convicts and deterring others.⁴²⁵ It is possible that the increasingly gory punishments outlined in the curse tablets from the north-west mirrored this development. Petitioners on theft curses rarely ask for their possessions back, preferring to symbolically give them to the gods, thereby making the theft a more serious crime, and also making the gods more likely to pursue and punish the thief. This tablet from Caistor St. Edmund (Norfolk) is particularly descriptive.⁴²⁶

*a Nase[. . .] eve(h)it Vroc[. . .]sius fascia(m) et armi[lla]s cap(t)olare spectr[um(?)]
cufia(m) duas ocrias x vasa stagnea si mascel si m(!)emina si puer si pu(e)lla duas
ocri(as) si vull(u)eris factae sang(uine) suo ut (i)llu(m) requerat<at> Neptunus e(t)
amictus e(t) cufia (et) arm(i)lla[e. . .] denarii sv sape(t)olare tunc sanguin(e) . .
.fasciam etnet fure carta s(upra) s(cripta) ratio(n)e*

Vroc...sius carries off from Nase... a wreath, bracelets, a cap, a mirror (?), a head-dress, a pair of leggings, ten pewter vessels, whether he be man or woman, boy or girl. If you want the pair of leggings, they shall become yours at the price of his blood, so that he, Neptune, shall seek him out, and a cloak and head-dress and

⁴²⁴ *Dig.* 47.2.94. Legal scholars have argued that this may have been because many thieves did not have the assets to pay fines or compensation, see Buckland and Stein, 1963, pp. 583-584; Frier, 1989, p. 165.

⁴²⁵ Harries, 2007, p. 45.

⁴²⁶ CTNW 123.

bracelets, fifteen denarii, the cap. Then the thief holds onto the wreath at the cost of his blood in accordance with the transaction on the above written sheet.

In this case, Neptune is expected to go after the thief, recover the goods and exact payment in blood – a common formula, and usually interpreted as a metaphor for capital punishment⁴²⁷ – in much the same way that a Roman magistrate would do. The petitioner received no monetary remuneration, but was instead compensated by the witnessing of pain or death being visited on the thief. As argued by Versnel and Chaniotis, the acting out of punishments in public was a key feature of Graeco-Roman concepts of divine justice.⁴²⁸ This will be explored further below, but for now it will suffice to say that the evidence suggests that the presence of an audience was important both as a manifestation of divine power and as a form of social control. The gods needed to be seen to punish wrongdoers for belief in their judicial power to continue, and so public displays of confession and atonement were occasionally demanded.⁴²⁹ In the motivations behind their actions, the petitioners of the curse tablets were influenced by these widely-circulated ideas of divine justice, as well as what they understood about human justice.

It was not just the thieves themselves who were targeted in curses from the northwest, but also anyone even tangentially connected to the crime. Some petitioners included formulas intended to widen the curse to include witnesses or accomplices, or even the family of the thief. This text from Bath is illustrative of the trend:⁴³⁰

Basilia donat in templum Martis anellum argenteum si ser(v)us si liber medius fuerit vel aliquid de hoc noverit ut sanguine et luminibus et omnibus membris configatur vel etiam intestina excomesa (om)nia habe(at) is qui anellum involavit vel qui medius fuerit.

⁴²⁷ Kiernan, 2004b, p. 126.

⁴²⁸ Versnel, 1999, pp. 151-153; Chaniotis, 2004, p. 13.

⁴²⁹ See in particular the confession *stelae* from Asia Minor collected by Petzl (1994).

⁴³⁰ CTNW 20.

Basilia presents to the temple of Mars (her) silver ring. If slave or free man has been involved, or knows anything about it, he may be accursed in (his) blood and eyes and all his limbs, or even with all his intestines eaten away: he who has stolen the ring or was a witness is done for.

The intention must be to inflict suffering on those connected to the crime for the punishment itself, but also possibly in the hope that they will force the thief to return to the temple and confess. Punishing people who assisted thieves is consistent with Roman law, which stated that accomplices to theft had in effect committed the crime themselves, and should therefore be prosecuted as thieves.⁴³¹ Other curses went further, extending the punishment to the family of the suspected thief. This is stipulated in at least three theft texts from the north-west, and perhaps also another four.⁴³² The best example is the fragmentary text of CTNW 90 (Bath):

*[dir]ipuit ut [eo]rum pretium [et e]xigas hoc per sanguinem et sa[n]itatem sua]m et
suorum nec ante illos pati[a]r[is] ?bibere nec m]anducare nec adsellare nec
[meiere? ---]ius hoc [a]biso</>verit*

...has stolen, that... the price [of them and] exact this through [his] blood and [health] and (those) of his family, and not allow them [to drink or] eat or defecate or [urinate] before he has... [releas]ed this.

The intention of this curse is clear: the family of the thief is to suffer as much for the crime as the thief himself. Another fragmentary Bath curse is even more explicit.⁴³³

*Pet<it>io/ <rogo?> te Victoria vind<ex> Manici Cunomolius Minervina u<x>or
Cunitius ser<v>us Senovara u<x>or Lavidendus ser<v>us Mattonius ser<v>us
Catinius Esxactoris fundo eo Methianus// [---] dono// [---ini?]micus*

A petition. (I ask) you Victory (The Avenger?) ... Cunomolius (son?) of Minicus, Minervina (his?) wife, Cunitius (their?) slave, Senovara (his?) wife, Lavidendus

⁴³¹ Dig. 47.34.

⁴³² CTNW 90, 149 and 202 certainly, and perhaps also 53, 55, 81, 242. These last four are either of uncertain reading or unspecified motive.

⁴³³ CTNW 61.

(their?) slave, Mattonius (their?) slave, Catinius (son?) of Exsactor... Methianus...

I give... // enemy (?)

The petitioner on this text has gone to extreme lengths to ensure that whole households are punished by the curse, naming husbands, wives, fathers and slaves. This idea of distributing the punishment beyond the actual criminals themselves onto potentially innocent family members stems from a desire for vengeance rather than justice, and certainly does not feature in the Roman law codes. Perhaps this expansive application of punishment was another reason to curse thieves rather than pursue them through the courts: the gods could cause suffering far greater than any sentence a Roman magistrate could deliver.

Although I agree that theft curses should remain in the prayers for justice category, the evidence presented here shows that at times Versnel overstates his case. When these curses are put into the context of Roman law, as I have done here for the first time, the full force of their vengeful nature is revealed. It is much harder to argue that the petitioners were seeking fair justice for the crimes committed against them when the punishments they demand for their victims are compared to those that would have been laid down by a Roman magistrate had the case come to court. Although they may have seen the system as letting them down when prosecuting thieves, the petitioners certainly tapped into wider thoughts about the public nature of justice, and I will discuss this in more detail in the next section.

4.2.2: *Juridical*

Other than theft, the only one of the Audollent/Faraone categories with more than ten examples from the north-west is the 'juridical' category. Of the 17 with this motive, 11 are from the cemetery at Bad Kreuznach, with the others being found in ones or twos at only a few other sites in Gaul and Germany, and none at all in Britain.⁴³⁴ This small number

⁴³⁴ The Bad Kreuznach curses are CTNW 265-275. The other legal curses are as follows: two, probably connected, from Chagnon (CTNW 203-4), one from Les Martres-de-Veyre (CTNW 208),

should not be unexpected if what I have argued above about access to the legal system is correct. Curses of this type are more common in historical contexts which had a more developed or accessible system of litigation, such as Classical Attica,⁴³⁵ and are relatively scarce in contexts like the Roman provinces where it was much harder to get a case heard in court, as I have argued above.⁴³⁶ What is interesting about the north-western locations in which the juridical curses were found is that, apart from Trier, none of them were large towns with obvious administrative functions. They are unlikely to have been on the court circuit of the governor, and so probably were not the towns in which the trials would have taken place. All the tablets were found in graves (with the exception of the Trier amphitheatre curse⁴³⁷), so the deposition locations may have been chosen because the deceased died in an untimely or gruesome manner,⁴³⁸ or even for the convenience of the particular cemetery to the petitioner's home. It is also possible that cemeteries were the most 'sacred' location around that particular settlement, and therefore the only place in which the petitioners could communicate with the supernatural.⁴³⁹ Unlike some of the Greek curses found in cemeteries, none of the north-western tablets explicitly address the deceased person directly, invoking instead the gods of the dead: the *Manes*, the *dii infernales*, Pluto and Persephone. It is probable then, that rather than enacting it themselves, the dead were simply expected to act as messengers and to deliver the curse to the gods.⁴⁴⁰

one from Trier (CTNW 225), one from L'Hospitalet-du-Larzac (CTNW 256) and two from Frankfurt (CTNW 261-2).

⁴³⁵ Eidinow, 2007a, pp. 165-166.

⁴³⁶ In Kropp's database of Latin curses there are 26 legal curses from outside the north-western provinces. The majority of these are from large cities, including Rome, Carthage, Hadramentum and Ampurias, with only a small number from smaller settlements or rural sites.

⁴³⁷ Although, as discussed in Section 2.2.4, this is still a depositional context with connections to the dead and the underworld.

⁴³⁸ Unfortunately very few archaeological records exist for the excavations that turned up many of these tablets. They were mostly excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and so any supporting evidence was either not recorded in the first place or has been lost over the intervening decades.

⁴³⁹ This is certainly a possibility for Bad Kreuznach, which was situated in a region with few temples but many cemetery sites (Krausse, 1999, p. 68).

⁴⁴⁰ For more on the role of the dead in ancient magic see Johnston, 1999, p. 72f.

The juridical curse category also contains the only two instances from the north-west of animal sacrifice as part of the ritual.⁴⁴¹ The tablet from Chagnon was accompanied by the killing of a puppy,⁴⁴² and the creation of one of the Frankfurt curses seems to have involved the ritual ‘silencing’ of a songbird.⁴⁴³ These two should be taken as individual embellishments of the standard cursing ritual, as the written text of the tablets turns the properties of the dead animals into sympathetic formulas intended to directly influence the victims. All in all, certain similarities are visible across the juridical curses from a diverse range of find sites. Deposition in graves, the invocation of underworld powers and the use of animal sacrifices are either exclusive features of the juridical curse category, or are far rarer in other categories. To take one example, of the 27 curses found in graves in the north-western provinces, 15 had juridical motives (over 50% of the total), whereas only two related to theft, the motive which dominates north-western curses in general.⁴⁴⁴

Juridical curses tend to be directed towards the speech, responses and answers of the victims, therefore hampering their ability to effectively fight the case. Most of these curses name multiple victims: only two target lone individuals.⁴⁴⁵ The text below⁴⁴⁶ shows it was not just the litigants that were targeted, but also anyone else who was connected to the trial – in this case an *adiutorium*, a technical legal term for an assistant:⁴⁴⁷

*Fructu(m) Gracil(em) et Aur(e)um adi(u)torium def(ero) i(nfer)ris sic non possit
respo(nde)re qua(e)s[tionibus]*

I bring Fructus Gracilis and Aureus the *adiutorium* to those below. Thus may he not be able to respond to questioning.

⁴⁴¹ There is another similar curse from Peñaflor, near Seville, which includes the line *quadmodum rana sene (!) lingua* “just like a frog without a tongue.” (Stylow, 2012). Although ‘frog’ might be the most literal translation of *rana*, Kruschwitz (2016) has recently suggested that it could mean a swelling of the tongue or the floor of the mouth.

⁴⁴² CTNW 203-4.

⁴⁴³ CTNW 262.

⁴⁴⁴ The non-legal curses found in graves (and their motives) are as follows: CTNW 214 and 275 (love); 260 (prayer for justice); 209 (theft of money); 160 (unspecified theft); 125, 240, 243, 244, 247, 260, 311 (unspecified).

⁴⁴⁵ CTNW 208 and 261. However, 208 is so fragmented that some other names may have been included that are now illegible.

⁴⁴⁶ CTNW 272.

⁴⁴⁷ This term also appears on CTNW 265.

Other juridical curses explicitly name lawyers (*advocati*),⁴⁴⁸ the court clerk (*apparitor*),⁴⁴⁹ informers (*omnes qui... docent illum*)⁴⁵⁰ and witnesses (*quidquid adhibent*).⁴⁵¹ Considering that it was the speech, responses and answers of these people that were targeted, it is likely that the curses were written and deposited immediately before the commencement of the trial or while it was in progress. These are pre-emptive strikes made before the victims appeared in court, and therefore they are attempts to influence future events to secure a positive outcome for the petitioner. The time in the run-up to a trial is also likely to be the most stressful for those involved, as anxiety and uncertainty take hold. These juridical curses could have cathartic benefits, in that they give the petitioners an active outlet for these anxieties instead of simply waiting for the trial to commence. From occasional references in ancient literary sources it seems that anyone who made public speeches in the Roman world could be a potential target for curses, and the belief in magical attacks of this kind could have disastrous effects on their performance, and therefore on the outcome of the trial.⁴⁵² In most cases it is unclear whether these curses were written by the prosecution or defence, as the victims are mostly referred to as *inimici* – enemies. The only exception could be the Chagnon texts,⁴⁵³ which ask that the lawyers of the victims be unable to defend them, implying that the curse was made by the prosecution.⁴⁵⁴

Although they dominate this category, the curses from Bad Kreuznach deserve closer analysis than that which has been afforded them in existing scholarship. As described above in Section 2.2.5, the curses from this cemetery form at least two,

⁴⁴⁸ CTNW 203, 208 and 225.

⁴⁴⁹ CTNW 267.

⁴⁵⁰ CTNW 268.

⁴⁵¹ CTNW 225. By expanding the curse out to hit witnesses and informers, the juridical curses were driven by the same impulses as the theft curses that also targeted witnesses and family members of the named victims, as discussed in the previous section.

⁴⁵² Cicero (*Brut.* 217-8) pours scorn on another lawyer who regularly uses the accusations of magical attacks to cover up what Cicero believes are simply the man's failings in character, talent and ability.

⁴⁵³ CTNW 203-4.

⁴⁵⁴ This is phrased in a sympathetic magical formula: *quomodi nec mater huius catelli defendere putuit sic nec advocati eorum e[os] d[ef]endere* – “just as the mother of this puppy could not defend it, so may their lawyers be unable to defend them.”

possibly three groups, which have been constructed based on the names of the victims.⁴⁵⁵ The largest group consists of five individual curses: CTNW 265, 267, 268, 270 and 271. Between them these five name almost 40 victims, five of which appear on more than one of the tablets.⁴⁵⁶ The exact nature of the trials to which these curses relate is unfortunately unknown, but whatever it was it must have been a dramatic, large-scale event considering the sheer number of people involved in such a small community. The names repeated across several tablets may have been the instigators of a conspiracy or the leaders of a local faction of some kind. Unfortunately, we have no clear idea of exactly who made the curses as most of them were composed anonymously. Confusingly, one of the few named petitioners, Quartio Severus, also appears as a victim on another tablet found in the same grave, and therefore possibly deposited in the same action, as his own tablet.⁴⁵⁷

The most satisfying explanation for this confusing situation is that as the trial progressed, and as the list of witnesses, litigants, lawyers and other associated people grew and changed, it was apparent to one side or the other that new curses were required. They cast their net as widely as possible, including the wives and slaves of prominent individuals, so that the curse hit everyone involved in the case, no matter how tangentially.⁴⁵⁸ It is important to remember that the relationships between two sides in a trial do not begin with its commencement, nor do they end at its conclusion. Members of a community, especially in small settlements like Roman Bad Kreuznach, were part of complex and ever-changing social networks involving positive and negative ties of conflict and alliance.⁴⁵⁹ Whether or not all of these people would actually appear in front of the magistrates hearing this particular case was to a certain degree irrelevant to the petitioners; it was the perception of them as enemies that motivated their inclusion on the

⁴⁵⁵ The connection in the possible third group (CTNW 274 and 275) rests on the recurrence of the name Secundus. This is potentially the same individual, but the name is too common – especially in Gaul and the Germanies – to be totally confident (see Wightman, 1970, pp. 50-51).

⁴⁵⁶ Atticinus son of Ammo, Optatus son of Silo and Terentius Att(iss)o are all on both CTNW 271 and 267, Sinto son of Valens is on both CTNW 271 and 265, and Ma(n)suetus is on CTNW 271 and 268.

⁴⁵⁷ He is the petitioner on CTNW 265 and a victim on CTNW 271.

⁴⁵⁸ This strategy is also present on Classical Attic legal curses, see Eidinow, 2007a, p. 170ff.

⁴⁵⁹ Eidinow, 2007a, pp. 186-189.

curses. This is corroborated by the repeated naming of the victims as *inimici*, and the inclusion of formulas like “*sive alii inimici*”⁴⁶⁰ and “*et siquos alios hos[tes] habeo*”⁴⁶¹

The collection of juridical curses from the north-west suggests that a small number of people in Roman provincial society were actively engaged in the formal legal system, despite the irregular and inconsistent access that was discussed above. Although the picture is far from complete, the curses seem to suggest a limited but well-structured process, with litigants represented by lawyers who argued their case before a judge. Witnesses were evidently called to give evidence, and it seems that, much like in the city of Rome itself, crowds of family, friends, clients and others could be present while the trial was being heard.⁴⁶² The petitioners on the juridical curses knew this, and used it to their advantage by including as many people who could have an impact on the trial as possible.

This original analysis of the north-western juridical curses has revealed the many similarities among them, such as attacking the speech of victims, deposition of the tablets in graves, invocations of underworld powers and the use of animal sacrifices. These features are occasionally found in the other motive categories, but are certainly most common on juridical curses. This suggests that the knowledge of what constituted an appropriate and successful curse in this context may have circulated as a complete whole, and may have gone along with the knowledge and expertise needed to pursue a case through the provincial legal system. In other words, this specific method of producing a curse tablet may have become closely associated with juridical cursing, and indeed may even have become an accepted part of the process of bringing a case to trial.⁴⁶³ The features of this category of curse were specifically intended to work as direct attacks on the performance of litigants, lawyers and witnesses, in an effort to ensure the success of the petitioner’s side of the trial. As such, they had little relevance when applied to other

⁴⁶⁰ “...any other enemies...”: e.g. CTNW 265.

⁴⁶¹ “...and if I have any other enemies...”: e.g. CTNW 270.

⁴⁶² For detailed discussions of the judicial process in the imperial capital see Bablitz, 2007 and Corbeill, 2015. Considering that governors and legates probably had some experience of the system at Rome, it is not unreasonable to suggest that provincial trials were at least loosely modelled on it.

⁴⁶³ This has been suggested for other cultural contexts, particularly Classical Athens (Gager, 1992, p. 117).

motives, and thus are rarely found outside juridical curses. This, then, is another example of people performing cursing rituals that suit their needs in specific contexts and circumstances.

4.2.3: Love

The nature of the surprisingly small number of love curses (see Table 4) found in the north-western provinces is one of the strongest pieces of evidence to support my contention that this region was relatively untouched by the magical traditions of the eastern Mediterranean. In the Greek world, erotic magic had a long history, flourishing in the Archaic and Classical periods and persisting well into the later Roman Empire, going through various changes over time.⁴⁶⁴ Before the first century BC, local, amateur traditions were the norm in love magic,⁴⁶⁵ but after the Roman conquests of the eastern Mediterranean these yielded to a conglomeration of international influences ranging from Jewish, Syrian and Egyptian traditions, as well as the more familiar Greek and Roman rituals.⁴⁶⁶ This genre of cursing became rich and varied, with a huge range of possible oral prayers, written formulas and ritual actions, which Gager attributes to the variety of individual needs and fantasies of the love-struck.⁴⁶⁷ The incredibly complex recipes contained in the *PGM* are the apogee of centuries of amalgamation and syncretism in ancient love magic, often running to dozens, if not hundreds, of lines of sometimes quite graphically violent language. In one example, the victim is to be “kept from eating and drinking and...dragged by the hair... to me and remain inseparable from me... and let her carry out sex acts with me for all eternity.”⁴⁶⁸ The study of these texts is enriched by the

⁴⁶⁴ As such it has attracted much scholarly attention, see Winkler, 1990; 1991; Dickie, 2000; Faraone, 2001; 2002. There are a few Latin love curses, but almost all of them are from Carthage or Hadrumetum in North Africa, places with strong influences from the Graeco-Egyptian world (Dickie, 2000, p. 574).

⁴⁶⁵ ‘Amateur’ is used here in the sense of ‘not professional.’ This distinction is important because the complexity of the later traditions partly resulted from the increasing involvement of professional magicians who worked from secret handbooks and recipes like those preserved in the *PGM*.

⁴⁶⁶ Faraone, 2001, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁶⁷ Gager, 1992, p. 80.

⁴⁶⁸ *PGM* 4.375-406. Trans. Betz, 1992.

surviving curses, around one quarter of which seems to have been motivated by matters of the heart.⁴⁶⁹

However, this tradition of using magic to attract lovers did not reach north of the Alps. Of the 134 curses with identifiable motives collected for this study, only four are potentially motivated by love, and almost all of these are doubtful.⁴⁷⁰ The identification of them as love curses rests on the hopeful interpretations of some very unclear Latin, and there are no texts that come anywhere near the elaborate tablets produced in the Graeco-Egyptian traditions. The only tablet unequivocally motivated by love is from a cemetery in a northern district of Trier.⁴⁷¹

*abcdefghijklmnoprrstuxyz artus fututor aprilis kaesio art(e) ligo dercomogni (filium)
fututor*

“(Alphabet) tight fucker... I bind tightly the fucker, son of Dercomognus.”

Unlike almost every other curse from the study area, this one was not inscribed on a sheet of lead, but scratched onto a pot.⁴⁷² The brief curse formula tells us very little: the petitioner intends to bind someone who they describe as a *fututor* – an obscene slur which is often found in epigrams and graffiti.⁴⁷³ The term has sexual connotations relating to the male role in intercourse, and so it is possible that the petitioner was attempting to control a wayward lover to ensure that their attentions are focussed in the right direction.⁴⁷⁴ The alphabet, which was inscribed upside down at the base of the vase, was a common feature of Greek magic, but aside from this example is entirely absent from the north-

⁴⁶⁹ Gager, 1992, p. 78.

⁴⁷⁰ CTNW 148, 214, 275 and 285.

⁴⁷¹ CTNW 214. Audollent suggested that *Aprilis Kaesio* could be one or two more names, but their connection to the main curse is uncertain. The layout of the text on the urn is not as linear as it appears here, with *Aprilis Kaesio* being seemingly unconnected to the curse against the son of Dercomognus – for more detail see the bibliography listed in the entry for the tablet in Appendix 1.

⁴⁷² Judging by the cemetery context this could well have been a funerary urn, but unfortunately there is little record of its excavation history (see Lehner, 1893).

⁴⁷³ Martial 1.90.6 and 7.30.3. In Pompeian graffiti it has a wide variety of uses, from aggressive threats, to banter between prostitutes and their clients, to male boasts – see *CIL* 4.4239, 2176 and 4029. For more on the various uses of this and other terms derived from *futuo* see Adams, 1982, pp. 118-122.

⁴⁷⁴ This is a common motive in Greek love magic, see Faraone, 2001, p. 132.

west.⁴⁷⁵ The name inscribed on the pot, Dercomognus, is of Celtic origin, although as it is only a patronymic it tells us little about the victim, and nothing about the petitioner. All in all, this curse is an outlier, a brief and solitary example in the north-west provinces of a type of magic much more widespread in other cultural contexts. Perhaps this was written by someone with contacts further east, or even a traveller from the Greek parts of the Empire, who therefore knew that it was possible to bind lovers in this way.

Aside from this curse, the others with a potential love motive are very uncertain. CTNW 285 from Mainz was identified as a love curse by the editors on the basis of the reconstruction of [st]upru[m], but this is far from conclusive. The tablet was seriously corroded, and as a result very few of the letters can be read with any confidence, and no other words can be identified. Another tablet, CTNW 275 from Bad Kreuznach, may have an erotic motive, but the formulas are too unclear to make a definitive judgement.⁴⁷⁶

*nomina data [dela]ta le[gata] ad inferos u[t] illos per vim [c]orrip[i]ant // Silonia<m>
Surum Caenu<m> Secundum ille te <s>ponsus procat il<l>um amo*

The names have been given, delivered, entrusted to the infernals, so that they seize them by force. Silonia, Surus, Caenus, Secundus. That which has been vowed urges you. I love him.

The presence of *amo* would suggest love being involved, but the relevance of *illum amo* to the rest of the curse is unclear. There are multiple victims on the curse, both men and women, and nothing that clarifies which of them, if any, is the object of *amo*. *Sponsus* could be a passive perfect participle, as I have translated here, but it can also mean a betrothed man. In that case, perhaps the curse was written by someone who was jilted by their fiancée. It could have been written by the bridegroom himself, but the masculine pronoun in the *illum amo* formula suggests that the author could equally have been the female half of the couple.

⁴⁷⁵ With the possible exception of one Bath tablet (CTNW 17).

⁴⁷⁶ In Kropp's database this tablet is classified as a competition curse, but I cannot see how that is possible. Nothing in the text gives any indication that the curse relates to chariot racing, gladiatorial combat, stage performance or any other commonly held competition.

If there is anything certain to say about this curse, it is not about the motive but about the method of the curse: it adheres strongly to the local cursing traditions present in first century Bad Kreuznach. Like the others found in that context, the petitioner of this curse gave the names of the victims to the gods of the underworld, and deposited their tablet in a grave to ensure the message was more likely to reach its intended audience. If it is a love curse, this tablet shows more similarities to the other curses made in the social context of Bad Kreuznach than to the Graeco-Egyptian traditions that developed elsewhere.

4.2.4: Motives in the north-west

Overall, this section has sought to reassess the long-established Audollent/Faraone categories of curse tablet motives through the lens of curses found exclusively in the north-western provinces. This is the first time that such a task has been completed, and it has called the validity of the model into question. When applied to the north-western evidence, the traditional taxonomy produces a heavily biased picture because of the overwhelming numbers of theft curses from Roman Britain, and particularly from the sites of Bath and Uley. The fact that the majority of curses from the region are therefore classified as prayers for justice rather than binding spells may leave an impression on scholars that is misleading. I have argued that Versnel has overstated his case when arguing for the justified, prayerful nature of theft curses. When these texts are viewed within the context of the patchy and partial provincial legal system, the deferential and legalistic mask created by their language slips as their vengeful nature becomes apparent.

My argument here is contextual, as it has been throughout this study. In this section I have thought about how the curse tablets I have examined fitted into the lives of the people who used them. These lives were embedded into local and regional social, political and religious contexts, and as a result every action taken was influenced by them. The petitioners were also influenced by their own personal motive for cursing, tailoring words and actions to fit these intentions. The close similarities across the category of

juridical curses show that certain features were associated with certain motives. However, as the remainder of this chapter will demonstrate, these short-term goals were not the only social factors that influenced both the decision to curse and the form that each curse took.

4.3: Motivations

So far, this chapter has discussed the curse tablets from the north-western provinces in terms of the Audollent/Faraone motive categories that are omnipresent in existing scholarship. However, it is my contention that these categories suggest a simplistic model of curse tablet production, which starts with the particular circumstance that triggers the writing of the curse – such as the theft of a personal item or the announcement of a legal trial – and which ends with the successful deposition of the tablet.

In the previous ‘motives’ model, there are two categories of person – the petitioners and the victims – and the relationship between the two is considered simplistic and mono-directional, i.e. that the petitioner is attempting to harm or control the victim because of whatever specific event triggered the curse tablet. The model takes at face value the motives of the curse tablets, and assumes that the petitioner was ‘justified’ in writing the tablet because of a real situation which had developed in their life.⁴⁷⁷ What is missing, therefore, is a critical analysis of the motives of curse tablets: in the words of Richard Gordon, “why should we believe what the writers [of curse tablets] claim about the wrong done to them? What did the other side have to say?”⁴⁷⁸ To focus only on the motives stated in the tablets ignores the complexity of human interactions in life, as well as the wider ‘social scripts’ in which the curses were created.⁴⁷⁹

The rest of this chapter will suggest ways in which we can think about these questions by exploring the deeper social factors and contexts which may have underlain

⁴⁷⁷ This is particularly true of Versnel’s work on the prayers for justice (1991a; 2010).

⁴⁷⁸ Gordon, 2013a, p. 267.

⁴⁷⁹ I use ‘social scripts’ here in the sense of widely-held beliefs and understandings, used by individuals to make sense of the particular circumstances. For the theoretical background see in particular Schank, 1977.

the motives stated on the tablets themselves: what I call 'motivations'. These motivations are not mutually exclusive, and I am not suggesting that curse tablets should be, or even can be, sorted into categories based on them. Instead, the headings of this section should be taken as thematic guides for the discussion, rather than the construction of a new taxonomy to supplant that of Audollent and Faraone. Under the first two headings, *agonistic contexts* and *coping mechanisms*, I will be applying models suggested by previous scholars to the evidence from the north-west. As will become apparent, this evidence does not fit well into models developed using curses from the Greek world, and so in the latter parts of this section I will suggest motivations that are more relevant to the Roman north-west. This will be done by firmly locating curse tablets in the context of the social relationships between individuals and within communities. My argument throughout is based on the understanding that the relationships between petitioners and victims do not begin and end with the writing and deposition of a curse tablet, but are considerably more complicated, spanning far greater lengths of time both before and after the specific circumstance that triggered the curse and the performance of the cursing ritual.

A crucial point that has been raised by the preceding discussion of the motives on north-western curse tablets is that they were predominantly prompted by either theft or legal trials. The Audollent/Faraone categories of commercial matters and competition are totally absent, and there are serious doubts about those labelled as erotic curses. The obvious question leading on from this conclusion is why curse tablets were used for only some of these reasons in the north-west, and not all of them. Chariot racing and gladiatorial combat were as popular in the Roman cities of Britain, Gaul and Germany as they were in other provinces, and it would be impossible to claim that people in the north-west never had problems with matters of the heart, so why did they not attract curse tablets as they did elsewhere in the Roman Empire? The answer to this question contains a caveat for any scholar attempting to study ancient magic using archaeological evidence. It is difficult to argue from silence, but it is possible that either the traditions of cursing for these reasons did not spread to the north-west, or that they did not catch on because people had other strategies to deal with these situations. Ultimately, the focus of enquiry

has to be on the surviving lead tablets, but we do not know, and we will probably never know, if there were other practices with only oral, ephemeral or perishable components that applied to erotic, commercial or competitive motives.⁴⁸⁰

4.3.1: Agonistic contexts and risk

Some work has already been done in appreciating the social contexts of cursing, and various models and theories have been suggested. Most scholars who have approached these questions have done so with a focus on Greek curses, and have mostly attempted to rationalise the use of curse tablets in ancient society. In this section, and the following *coping mechanisms* section, I will be applying the work of previous scholars to the north-west region for the first time.

Faraone argued that the essential feature of all four types of ‘binding’ curses was their reference to relationships between rivals – be they tradesmen, lovers, litigants or athletes.⁴⁸¹ In his view, the petitioners were the perennial underdogs, protecting themselves against certain defeat in whatever activities they were engaged in. To them, magical attacks on their rivals seemed the only way to tip the scales in their favour, and the fear of defeat would outweigh the legal or moral taboos attached to such rituals.⁴⁸² This ‘agonistic context’, as Faraone termed it, is certainly apparent in the Archaic and Classical Greek texts he cites as evidence, and clearly extended into the Roman period with the increased popularity and political significance of chariot racing and other forms of competitive entertainment.⁴⁸³

Eidinow has built on this agonistic model, and introduced the concept of risk into the study of ancient cursing.⁴⁸⁴ In her analysis, curse tablets were used in times of crisis or perceived danger in an attempt to mitigate that danger and to protect the petitioner. In

⁴⁸⁰ A point made recently by both Otto (2013, p. 323) and Gordon (2015, pp. 148-153).

⁴⁸¹ Faraone, 1991, pp. 10-17.

⁴⁸² Faraone, 1991, pp. 17-20.

⁴⁸³ He cites Brown (1970, p. 25), who had already pointed out the political role of chariot racing factions up to late antiquity.

⁴⁸⁴ Eidinow, 2007a.

these moments, other people were identified as potential risks because of their aggressive actions – in love, legal trials, business or the arena – and needed to be bound and controlled to avoid damaging the petitioner.⁴⁸⁵ Considering cursing in this way, as motivated by the fear or suspicion of future events, Eidinow's conclusions align with some of the phenomenological theory that was introduced above.⁴⁸⁶ It must be remembered that humans are historical beings, embedded in their worlds and acting in the present based on information they have in the moment.⁴⁸⁷ That information can be negative as well as positive, and does not always come to the individual as unfiltered truth. Eidinow identified envy and jealousy as motivating factors in the act of writing curse tablets,⁴⁸⁸ and this is an area that I argue has further potential, and which I will explore further below.

The analysis of curse tablets as fitting into the agonistic context of ancient society is not necessarily relevant for the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. Although it could be argued that Roman society was just as dominated by competition as Classical Athens,⁴⁸⁹ the north-west has yielded few of the competition curses that would support this kind of contextual analysis. Perhaps the only exception is the collection of juridical curses from Bad Kreuznach. These curses seem to reveal a community very much dominated by competition between rival factions, at least at this one moment when a legal trial caused division among the residents of the town. The lack of contextual information is frustrating, as nothing else is known about the individuals named on the tablets, and the tablets themselves are infuriatingly vague. It is impossible to determine whether Faraone's conclusion about 'perennial underdogs' holds true at Bad Kreuznach, but we can certainly surmise that Eidinow's ideas of risk are relevant. Personal reputation and financial security hung on the verdict of legal trials such as that alluded to on the Bad Kreuznach tablets, to say nothing of the lives of those who, depending on the nature of the crime, could be executed if the judge returned a guilty verdict.⁴⁹⁰ However, Faraone's analysis of

⁴⁸⁵ Eidinow, 2007a, pp. 227-235.

⁴⁸⁶ Section 2.1.

⁴⁸⁷ Thomas, 1996, p. 35.

⁴⁸⁸ Eidinow, 2007a, p. 231.

⁴⁸⁹ Certainly among the senatorial aristocracy, who competed with each other in almost every walk of life: see Hopkins, 1965.

⁴⁹⁰ Versnel, 1999, p. 149; Eidinow, 2007a, p. 188.

the agonistic context of cursing does not hold true for the majority of north-western tablets, which were motivated by theft. Even Eidinow's introduction of the concept of risk can only go so far with these texts: they are undoubtedly attempting to deal with a situation of personal crisis, but they are not motivated by uncertainty about future events in the way that the 'binding' curses are.

4.3.2: Coping mechanisms

According to other scholars, magic acted as a coping mechanism for the difficulties of living life in the ancient world.⁴⁹¹ Magical practices allowed people to feel some sort of control over their future: not only were they often explicitly concerned with revealing or controlling future events, but built into rituals such as curse tablet production was the cathartic benefit of action over inaction.⁴⁹² In this way of thinking, curses helped people deal with the injustices of their lives, especially people who had no access to the Roman legal system, people towards whom the system was actively opposed or people who found that system inadequate. Curses directly helped people redress these imbalances by invoking a higher power to help resolve their personal crises.

Magic as a coping strategy is applicable to victims as well as petitioners. Knowing that magical attacks were possible meant that victims could explain away their own failures, and point to 'others' who were deemed responsible. The accounts of Cicero and Libanius have already been mentioned, but there are other examples. Pliny reports a case in which some landowners explained the low yields of their farms by accusing a foreign freedman, one Gaius Furius Cresimus, of magically transferring crops into his fields from theirs.⁴⁹³ This is a particularly illuminating instance, as the accused man defends himself with a display of his dedication to the Roman virtues of rustic simplicity and hard work, thereby challenging his status as an outsider. His Roman credentials thus secured, the charges are duly dropped and Cresimus is embraced by his community.

⁴⁹¹ See in particular Graf, 1997a.

⁴⁹² Gager, 1992, pp. 22-23; Gordon, 2013a, pp. 70-71; Cousins, 2014, p. 58. See above for catharsis in curse tablet rituals (Sections 3.3 and 3.5).

⁴⁹³ Plin. *HN*. 18.41

Graf places magical medicine into the same category of coping strategies, in that it often explains unexplainable diseases, such as epilepsy, as having supernatural causes.⁴⁹⁴ Not only is this evident in the writing of ancient doctors and other healers, but also in the confession *stelae* from Asia Minor. These texts, dating from the early imperial period, record occasions on which people approached temple authorities and confessed some kind of wrongdoing in an attempt to alleviate an illness they believed was divine punishment.⁴⁹⁵ Rituals such as these are not direct evidence for the situation in the north-western provinces, but I would argue that they can be seen as contextual manifestations of wider belief. The reasons that confession *stelae* are only found in certain regions of Asia Minor must lie in the particular social and religious contexts of those areas. Nevertheless they certainly reveal something of the beliefs about divine justice that existed across the Roman Empire. They show that certain rituals could provide some sense of control for the participant. The world might be at the whim of supernatural powers, but humans could appeal to or directly control these powers to directly influence their own lives. This model has many merits when applied to the curses from the north-west, especially the theft curses, which can be understood as part of a mechanism for coping with the loss of personal objects. However, in my opinion this is too much of a rationalisation to adequately explain the enduring popularity of cursing throughout the Roman period. Without demonstrable results beyond simply making the petitioner feel a little better, the ritual would not have been continually practiced by successive generations of people at sites like Bath or Uley, which seem to have seen cursing activity for at least 200 years. There must have been deeper social factors at work, and it is these that I intend to explore in the following discussion.

4.3.3: Summary of motivations in previous scholarship

The models and analyses proposed by previous scholars and discussed here have broken the ground on considering the social contexts of curse tablet use, but I argue that

⁴⁹⁴ Graf, 1997a, pp. 109-112.

⁴⁹⁵ Chaniotis, 2004. The inscriptions are collected in Petzl, 1994.

considerably more work is needed. This is another area in which the study of ancient religion and magic has lagged behind comparable work in other areas of Roman studies, and which could be immeasurably enriched by interdisciplinary thought. Although what follows will be grounded in the evidence of the curse tablets found throughout the north-western Roman provinces, I will also bring in work carried out by ethnographers and anthropologists with contemporary traditional cultures that have practices comparable to ancient cursing. Studies of these communities can help us to think differently and explore new possibilities by showing us fresh ways to interrogate our existing evidence. Of course, this is not a new opinion in the broader study of the Roman provinces, and many archaeologists and ancient historians have benefitted greatly from the reflective and considered incorporation of anthropological comparisons into their work.⁴⁹⁶ However, the study of Roman curse tablets has largely remained immune to these movements, for reasons that are not particularly clear. Perhaps it is because work in this field remained a largely philological exercise for much of the 20th century, insulating it from wider methodological movements in archaeology and ancient history. Also significant is the fact that ancient magic has been mostly neglected by mainstream scholars because it seems to reveal a side of ancient society far removed from their constructed image of “pure philosophy and true religion.”⁴⁹⁷ The vision of the Roman Empire as exceptional has been systematically deconstructed by postcolonial and postmodern archaeology, and it is high time that curse tablet studies caught up.

4.3.4: Magic in anthropology

The key works for all anthropologists and ethnographers who have studied magical practices among traditional societies are still Evans-Prichard’s study of the Azande people of Sudan (now split between South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the

⁴⁹⁶ Rothe (2007) argues in support of this trend, and offers an example of how work from anthropology can be applied to give us a greater understanding of dress in the Roman provinces. Gardner has been an active proponent of applying anthropological theory to Roman archaeology (see Gardner, 2002; 2013).

⁴⁹⁷ Gager, 1992, p. 3. This point was also noted by Bradley (1997, p. 219).

Central African Republic) and Malinowski's work in Melanesia.⁴⁹⁸ It was these two who overturned the evolutionary models espoused by earlier scholars such as Frazer,⁴⁹⁹ and instead showed that, when examined in their cultural contexts, magical thinking and acting could be seen as rational responses to certain situations.⁵⁰⁰ The whole field of social anthropology is indebted to the work of Evans-Prichard and Malinowski, and since the end of the Second World War it has moved towards a culturally and historically relativistic study of magic, establishing that these phenomena must be understood in terms of the circumstances of their production and use, rather than using any western notions of rationality or causality as benchmarks.⁵⁰¹

A survey of the considerable number of illuminating case studies that have been produced by anthropologists and ethnographers over the past 70 years shows that magical practices are very varied between societies.⁵⁰² As a result, it has been difficult for the discipline to find definitions and distinctions that work across the board, despite the tendency for some scholars to use Evans-Prichard's Azande study as a model for their own studies. Of particular concern to the classification of magical practices has been the relevance of Evans-Prichard's distinction between 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery' as two terms for differing practices and beliefs.⁵⁰³ For the Azande, witchcraft is a hereditary psychic power practiced almost unconsciously and without materials, whereas sorcery requires knowledge of specific techniques, material components and spoken words. Because it is theoretically accessible to all, sorcery is far more morally ambiguous than witchcraft in Azande culture, the latter being considered unquestionably evil. Scholars since Evans-Prichard have not used this distinction consistently, at times keeping the two practices separate, and at other times using the two terms interchangeably.⁵⁰⁴ This is partly

⁴⁹⁸ Evans-Prichard, 1937; Malinowski, 1922.

⁴⁹⁹ Most famously in *The Golden Bough* (1922).

⁵⁰⁰ Evans-Prichard, 1937, p. 475.

⁵⁰¹ For a more detailed historiography of the movements within this field see Kapferer, 1997, p. 12ff.

⁵⁰² Key works include Redfield, 1941; Gluckman, 1955; Marwick, 1965; Douglas, 1970b; Marwick, 1970; Kapferer, 1997; 2002a.

⁵⁰³ 1937, *passim*, but see p. 387 for a summary.

⁵⁰⁴ Marwick, 1965, p. 69; Mair, 1969, pp. 15-23; Stewart and Strathern, 2004, p. 6.

because of the considerable differences between cultures, many of which do not make this distinction themselves.⁵⁰⁵

An attempt to cut through this, as well as to give the field some theoretical underpinning, was made by Douglas in the 1970s.⁵⁰⁶ She argued that the nature and form of religious beliefs and practices were socially determined. The intersection between two social dimensions – the scope and coherence of classification systems on one hand (what she called ‘grid’), and the pressure applied by other people (what she called ‘group’) on the other – dictated how beliefs and practices, including magic, would appear within different sectors of any particular society.⁵⁰⁷ The distinction between witchcraft and sorcery could then be given backing by social factors.⁵⁰⁸

Beliefs in the existence of witches – evil people who can attack others using innate, malevolent powers – are motivated by the fear that small group societies feel for the perceived dangers of the sinister actions of other humans, and therefore these societies are preoccupied with cleansing rituals. Because witchcraft is innate to the witch, no physical evidence of their attacks can be found, and thus they can only be confirmed by interrogating suspected witches or through equally magical divination rituals.⁵⁰⁹ In contrast, sorcery practices are based on knowledge of the ways in which material components and oral spells can grant the power to influence other people, often with the intention of furthering personal aims. This can only occur in societies with strong grid and group, corresponding to a clear hierarchy and firm internal divisions, and therefore a strong sense of personal advancement. The rituals often require some form of justification, as either furthering individual goals or as protection from the malicious activities of others. Kapferer has built on Douglas’s work, and defined sorcery as

⁵⁰⁵ Noted by Douglas (1970a, pp. xxvii-xxix).

⁵⁰⁶ Douglas, 1973.

⁵⁰⁷ This grid and group model has seen considerable evolution and revision since the 1970s, both by Douglas and others. Nevertheless, the model as presented in the original work is the most relevant to the study of magical practices, and therefore is the model with which I engage here. For summaries of the development of grid and group theory see, among others, Spickard, 1989; Mamadouh, 1999.

⁵⁰⁸ Summarised at Douglas, 1973, pp. 169-171.

⁵⁰⁹ Mair, 1969, p. 23.

conscious action performed by knowledgeable individuals, typically for protective or destructive aims.⁵¹⁰

Motives of cursing and other sorcery rituals vary from society to society, and from individual to individual, but in general they seem to be constantly present at “times of sickness and death, periods of achievement and success and of failure and abjection.”⁵¹¹ In many cultures it is possible to use sorcery to attack suspected thieves, to secure lovers and to influence legal trials, just as it was possible to do so in the Roman Empire.⁵¹² These practices are amoral, or at least morally ambiguous, depending on the subjective perception of the individuals involved.

Kapferer’s fieldwork with Sinhalese Buddhists in Sri Lanka is of particular interest to this study. It is the closest society examined by any anthropologist to the social situation in the Roman Empire, in that it is a literate society with clear hierarchies and strong internal divisions. Using Douglas’ model, both modern Sri Lanka and ancient Rome are best described as strong grid societies. Kapferer states that these conditions, along with widely shared schemes of social and personal control, are the contexts in which sorcery is most likely to be the major mode of practice,⁵¹³ and this is borne out in his case studies. In Sri Lanka, sorcery practices involve cursing rituals that are remarkably similar to those found in the Roman north-west, as they are conducted in temples using material components such as wax images and inscriptions on metal tablets. Perishable objects like coconuts or eggs are also important, often having the victim’s name written on them before being ritually deposited or destroyed.⁵¹⁴ The people who use them attempt to attack sexual partners, the speech of participants in criminal cases, or suspected

⁵¹⁰ Kapferer, 2002b, pp. 10-12.

⁵¹¹ Kapferer, 1997, p. 2.

⁵¹² Azande: Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 426; Cewa (modern Zambia): Marwick, 1965, pp. 68-69; Sri Lanka: Feddema, 1997, pp. 213-215, Kapferer, 1997, p. 39.

⁵¹³ Kapferer, 2002b, p. 12.

⁵¹⁴ Kapferer, 1997, pp. 242, 249-253. The use of perishable objects in Sri Lankan cursing should be a warning to archaeologists and historians studying the Roman period. As I have said before, there is no way of knowing how many people cursed their enemies by doing something other than inscribing a sheet of lead, and we can know little of the further actions involving perishable items that accompanied cursing.

thieves.⁵¹⁵ Although Kapferer notes these short-term motives, the bulk of his study is devoted to exploring the underlying social motivations for engaging in rituals such as cursing. This is the major difference between the studies of magic conducted by ancient historians, who have mostly been concerned with classifying their evidence based on textual features, and anthropologists, who have, since Evans-Prichard, always considered the social contexts of the rituals and beliefs that they study. It is this approach that I will be applying to the ancient evidence in the remainder of this chapter.

As I have already stated, I intend to use the work of anthropologists and ethnographers to think in different ways about the motivations behind Roman curses by interrogating the evidence in new ways. However, there are several caveats that need to be discussed before this can be done. As Brown, a scholar of late antiquity, noted in his contribution to Douglas's edited volume *Witchcraft: Confessions and Accusations*, ancient historians and anthropologists approach this debate from different sides.⁵¹⁶

Anthropologists come at magic from the point of view of the accuser – always assuming that the accusation of magic is false – rather than from the witch or sorcerer themselves. Researchers in the field rarely, if ever, witness these rituals being practiced, either because they are done quickly and in secret or because in reality they are never actually performed at all, only existing in the fears of the general population.⁵¹⁷ People in traditional societies rarely admit to practicing sorcery or witchcraft because of the serious consequences that can follow such confessions, so the anthropologist's main source of information for details of specific rituals comes from the accusations levelled at suspected sorcerers or witches by those who have been attacked, or from third parties who claim to have been witnesses. This has led anthropologists to focus their studies on subjects such as how suspected witches and sorcerers relate to their social contexts, the social impacts of beliefs about how witches and sorcerers act, the context and significance of witch-hunts, and so on. In contrast, scholars of Roman magic start with the significant quantity

⁵¹⁵ Kapferer, 1997, p. 36. See also Feddema (1997, pp. 213-215) who found similar motives for cursing in a different part of the island to Kapferer's study.

⁵¹⁶ Brown, 1970, p. 18.

⁵¹⁷ Douglas, 1970a, p. xxxiv. Evans-Prichard held these doubts about Azande magic (see 1937, pp. 404, 424), as did Marwick about the Cewa (Marwick, 1965, p. 82).

of surviving evidence for magical practice itself, including the *PGM*, amulets, dolls and also the curse tablets that are the focus of this study. With this body of evidence it has been easy for previous scholars to lose sight of the human agent behind the beliefs and practices outlined in the texts, and therefore also the social contexts into which they fitted.⁵¹⁸ These differences in evidence and approach make linking our two disciplines fraught with difficulties, but in the rest of this chapter I will argue that it is not only possible but necessary if we are to fully understand the practice of ancient magic in its social context.

4.3.5: Rumour and gossip

It has often been recognised by the ethnographers and anthropologists who have studied traditional societies that magic is an extension of rumour and gossip.⁵¹⁹ When relationships between people degenerate to a significantly low point, especially where jealousy or envy are involved, magical attacks are often the next step after malicious gossiping or spreading rumours,⁵²⁰ as they turn what are already aggressive words into powerful speech acts.⁵²¹ Magical attacks also maintain the secrecy and plausible deniability of gossip and rumour, something highly important in face-to-face societies that place a significant emphasis on public reputation, such as for example the Trobriand islanders in the Pacific.⁵²² In this context, direct confrontation, or 'hard words' as they are known to the islanders, could be considered dangerous as they expose the attacker to the potential for embarrassment or counter-attack, which can damage social standing. The case in Sri Lanka is similar: there magical attacks are seen as safer because they avoid

⁵¹⁸ As pointed out by Brown, 1970, p. 18.

⁵¹⁹ Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 107; Scott, 1990, pp. 142-144; Weiner, 1991; Eves, 2000, pp. 458-459; Stewart and Strathern, 2004, p. ix; Ashforth, 2005, p. 67.

⁵²⁰ Gossip and rumour, while closely connected, have slightly different meanings. Gossip tends to take place mutually within a group or network (Stewart and Strathern, 2004, pp. 38-39), whereas rumours tend to have a much wider circulation, spreading between and through many different social networks (Laurence, 1994; Neubauer, 1999).

⁵²¹ For the basis of speech act theory see Austin, 1962 and Searle, 1971. A more recent treatment of speech act theory was written by Sbisà (2009).

⁵²² Weiner, 1991, pp. 187-188.

the legal dangers of direct physical assault, as well as the social risk of publicly exposing the petitioner's malevolence.⁵²³

These observations can certainly be applied to the ancient world: in classical Athens and late republican Rome, the two historical contexts for which we have the most evidence, rumour and gossip were endemic and clearly more common tools for the destruction of rivals than outright public confrontation.⁵²⁴ They became valuable weapons in the ongoing struggle for personal advancement that was central to life in these social contexts. There is no reason to think that this was not also the case in the north-western provinces, despite the smaller scale of the communities compared to Athens or Rome. In fact, the smaller the community the more likely it is that members would have known intimate details of each other's lives, and the less likely they would have been to directly confront rivals out of fear of retribution.⁵²⁵ This is arguably the situation visible on the Bath, Uley and Mainz curse tablets, for example, where, despite the fact that many of the petitioners seem to have known the names of the thieves who stole their belongings, they chose to seek retribution through depositing a curse tablet, rather than directly confronting them. The juridical curses from Bad Kreuznach and other sites have a different sense, in that the petitioners had already confronted their opponents, or were at least planning on doing so in the near future, in the form of bringing their case to court. In this scenario, magical attacks with curse tablets act to strengthen and extend 'hard words' rather than to replace them.

4.3.6: *Was cursing public or private?*

There is a trade-off inherent in choosing magical attack over 'hard words' in that, although it is safer and arguably more powerful to use a ritual like cursing to harm an enemy, it is less predictable because it relies on the mediation of an unpredictable supernatural being,

⁵²³ Kapferer, 1997, pp. 44-45.

⁵²⁴ For Athens see Hunter, 1990, and for Rome see Laurence, 1994 and Dufallo, 2001. From the Roman sources see Hor., *Epod.* 11.7 and Prop. 3.25.1 for two examples of the damage to reputation caused by being the target of gossip and mockery.

⁵²⁵ Hunter, 1990, p. 301; Weiner, 1991, pp. 161-163.

rather than the unavoidable consequences of direct public confrontation.⁵²⁶ There is a tension here between the public and private aspects of cursing rituals, an important strand of anthropological arguments on the topic, and something I touched on in Chapter 2. Privacy, even secrecy, is evidently valued in sorcery rituals in various cultures, to the point where few anthropologists record ever witnessing them being practiced.⁵²⁷ In the Sri Lankan coastal village of Seenigama, the cursing shrine is located behind a wall on a small island, making it very difficult to see what is happening from the mainland.⁵²⁸ The anthropologist who studied the shrine, Feddema, was only able to record the rituals after obtaining special permission to enter the shrine and witness the cursing procedure himself.⁵²⁹ The secrecy created here and in other cultures protects the petitioners from any negative consequences that may be attached to the practice of sorcery, and also prevents the victims from learning the exact nature of the attack, and therefore being able to protect themselves with the correct counter-measures. However, in the Sri Lankan example, for instance, other members of the community can still see petitioners visiting the shrine by boat, and rumours about their intentions often spread quickly among neighbours, family and friends.⁵³⁰

Secrecy was clearly important in the north-western Roman provinces too, to the extent that some temples, such as Bath and Mainz for example, constructed dedicated areas specifically for conducting these rites, much like the cursing shrine in Sri Lanka.⁵³¹ Existing scholarly opinion emphasises secrecy in Roman curse tablet rituals because of the perception that they were either somehow taboo or explicitly illegal. However, these temples were still public places, which could often be occupied by members of the public. Even the most inconspicuous setting still offered the potential for being watched by onlookers or heard by eavesdroppers – whether intentional or accidental. In small communities such as Bath, Uley or Bad Kreuznach, any suspicious activity would likely be

⁵²⁶ Weiner, 1991, pp. 187-188. This was briefly noted by Versnel (2002, p. 56), but the significance of the point has not been fully realised by any scholar in the field.

⁵²⁷ Azande: Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 424; Sri Lanka: Feddema, 1997, p. 204; Kapferer, 1997, p. 46.

⁵²⁸ Feddema, 1997, p. 204.

⁵²⁹ Feddema, 1997, p. 212.

⁵³⁰ Feddema, 1997, p. 212.

⁵³¹ See above, Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

noticed and reported through the grapevines of rumour and gossip, especially in times of conflict or stress.⁵³² Scholars have often wondered if curse tablets worked because they were displayed publicly before being deposited – otherwise there would be no way for the victim to know they had been cursed, and therefore no way for the desired effects to manifest themselves.⁵³³ If we factor in the power of rumours and gossip to spread information around a community, as anthropologists have done and as I argue we should do for Roman society, then this public display of the physical tablet becomes unnecessary. All that is required is an onlooker or eavesdropper, followed by a casual word to a friend or relative, to set the rumour mill churning.⁵³⁴ From then on the feedback loop of gossip would do all the work. The evidence from Soweto in South Africa, as well as Sri Lanka, shows that community members soon become aware when others are gossiping about them, and, because of the close links between the two, often suspect magical attacks as a result.⁵³⁵

Another aspect of the public/private tension within ancient cursing is the public nature of some of the punishments set out on the tablets. The simplest examples are the 17 curses from across the study area that require the victim to make some form of atonement in a temple,⁵³⁶ as well as the seven that ask that the victim be compelled to return the stolen property to the petitioners themselves.⁵³⁷ One example reads thus:

Tibi commendo... qui mihi fraudem fecit de denar(ii)s illis quos [mih]i debebat dono of(f)ero destino deputo... in fanum et thesaurum potententiss[imi] dei... seminudi edentuli tremuli podagrici sine cuiusque hominis missericordia

To you I commend... the man who has cheated me of the denarii he owed me. I give, I offer, I destine, I depute one hundred thousand denarii to the god Mercury,

⁵³² This is the case in Africa, see Stewart and Strathern, 2004, pp. 29-30. The evidently large-scale trial at Bad Kreuznach definitely constitutes such a situation.

⁵³³ It is, for example, a central plank in Kiernan's argument for the psychosomatic effects of ancient cursing (2004b, p. 131), and also his argument for the votive nature of 'prayers for justice' (2004a, pp. 108-110). This was discussed further in Section 3.5.

⁵³⁴ Versnel (2002, pp. 70-71) points out that the priests themselves could be the origin point of gossip about cursing. They were also members of the community, and they may have known the details of individual petitions, about which they could easily drop hints to others.

⁵³⁵ Soweto: Ashforth, 2005, p. 68; Sri Lanka: Kapferer, 1997, p. 40.

⁵³⁶ CTNW 1, 53, 54, 60, 65, 85, 88, 111, 133, 145, 149, 171, 172, 181, 237, 307, 309.

⁵³⁷ CTNW 72, 158, 162, 173, 233, 300, 304.

that he may bring them to the temple and treasury of the mightiest god... lack of sleep, with unknown diseases and adverse ailments... half-naked, toothless, tremulous, gouty, beyond human pity.⁵³⁸

In this case we can see what the petitioner intends for the victim: they are to suffer so greatly for their crime that they have no choice but to go to the temple of Mercury, in doing so displaying their horrific illnesses to the community, and surrender the stolen money to the god. This creates a picture that aligns with the concepts of divine justice visible in other parts of the Empire, in particular the confession *stelae* from Asia Minor, which demanded some form of confession or public atonement in the presence of the gods.⁵³⁹ Of course the gods were not the only audience at public temples, and I argue that other members of the community could easily witness whatever act of atonement was prescribed, resulting in a humiliating loss of reputation for the victim as they were, in effect, publicly displaying their criminal activities. The punishments for the victim in the above text are designed to make them the object of humiliation and ridicule, as Mercury is to make them “half-naked, toothless, tremulous, gouty, and beyond human pity.” Versnel calls this *Schadenfreude* – joy derived from the suffering of others – and identifies it as a feature of juridical curses as well as prayers for justice.⁵⁴⁰

Juridical curses that target the speech faculties of litigants, lawyers and witnesses were primarily attempting to stop them successfully putting across their case in court, but would have had the secondary effect of causing public embarrassment for the suddenly dumb-struck speaker, making them the object of ridicule and scorn. For lawyers this was an attack on their professional reputation, something that had the potential to become a

⁵³⁸ CTNW 181. This text is one of the unpublished Uley tablets. What appears here has been pieced together from odd references in Tomlin’s publications, and is likely to change when the Uley catalogue appears (for full bibliography see the individual entry in Appendix 1).

⁵³⁹ Chaniotis, 2004

⁵⁴⁰ Versnel, 1999, pp. 149-153.

subject of gossip and that could be used as ammunition by subsequent opponents.⁵⁴¹ The best example of this from the north-west is on one of the tablets from Frankfurt:⁵⁴²

*rogo mane[s et(?)] dii(?)] inferni ut [Ma]rius Fronto [adv]ersariu[s] Sex[tii] sit vanus
neque loqui pos[s]it contra [S]extum ut F[r]onto fiat mutus q[um] accesser[it]
consular[e]m...*

I ask the spirits of the dead and the infernal gods that Marius Fronto, enemy of Sextus, be untrustworthy and not be able to speak against Sextus, thus Fronto is made mute, when he will approach the consul...

In this case, the attack on Fronto's reputation is obvious: not only is his ability to speak limited, but if he does manage to speak the curse ensures that no-one will trust him. There is a hint of public humiliation too. The curse specifies that he is to be struck dumb at the moment he approaches the judge to argue his case, and therefore at the moment when he is the focus of the attention of the entire courtroom.

At the temple of Mater Magna and Isis in Mainz, several of the recurring curse formulas spell out this destruction of social standing in explicit terms. Three of the tablets found on the site include some variation of the phrase "*ut exitum spectent*" – "thus they shall watch [the victim's] death". It is generally accepted by scholars that this violent language should probably be taken as symbolic rather than literal, partly because the tablets usually also condemn the victims to other fates that would be impossible or superfluous if they were going to be killed.⁵⁴³ For example, CTNW 309 states:

*gallo[r]u[m] ma]glorum bellon[ariorum sanguinem or ritus?] spectat qui de ea
pecunia dolum malum [admisit sic illius] exitum spectent et a[d qu]em modum sal
in [aqua liques]cet sic et illi membra m[ed]ullae extabescant cr[a]s [ueniat] et dicat
se admisisse nef[a]s d[e] mando tibi rel[igione] ut me uotis condemnes et ut laetus
libens ea tibi referam si de eo exitum malum feceris*

⁵⁴¹ 'Oratorical ineptitude' is one of the conventional *loci* of invective in ancient oratory, see Craig, 2004, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁴² CTNW 261.

⁵⁴³ Gager, 1992, p. 81; Kiernan, 2004b, pp. 126-127.

...just as he watches [the blood or the ritual] of the *galli*, the *magali* and the priests of Bellona... [he who committed] the fraud of this money... [so should] they watch his death. And just as salt [will become liquid] in (water), so shall his limbs and marrow waste away. Tomorrow [he should come], and say that he has committed the crime. I give to you the instruction in religious form, that you fulfil my wish and that I will happily and willingly reciprocate, when you have made over them a horrible death.

A dead thief cannot return stolen goods or money, nor can they come to the temple to confess their crime, as requested in the above text. Death could potentially mean a more symbolic death in the eyes of the community: a death of reputation or social standing brought on by confessing to criminal activity in the presence of gods and men. Another tablet from Mainz directly attacks the victim's reputation within their community, calling for them to be cut off from other people:⁵⁴⁴

...ita uti galli Bellonariue absciderunt concieruntue se sic illi abscissa sit fides fama facultit[a]s nec illi in numero hominum sunt neque ille sit...

...just as the *galli* or the priests of Bellona have cut or castrated themselves, so shall loyalty, reputation and ability be cut off, and just as they are not numbered among men, so should he not be...

It is unclear from the rest of this tablet what exactly the victim, a certain Quintus, has done to warrant such punishment. He is described as someone "who has turned away, who badly completes his principles and those of his life,"⁵⁴⁵ so perhaps the petitioner considered him to have transgressed the boundaries of socially acceptable behaviour in some way. In any case, this curse demonstrates that attacking social relationships was considered a punishment on par with causing bodily pain. Lists of curse targets such as this usually contain body parts, like in CTNW 154, which curses the

⁵⁴⁴ CTNW 305.

⁵⁴⁵ *Auersum se suisque rationibus uitaeque male consummantem.*

victim's "mind, memory, inner parts, intestines, heart, marrow and veins."⁵⁴⁶ The appearance of "loyalty, reputation and ability" in such a list in CTNW 305 is unusual, but nevertheless suggests that they were seen as intimate parts of the victim's person that could be damaged by magical means.⁵⁴⁷

The existence of magical rituals as methods of attacking the reputation and social standing of rivals, and therefore also as methods of personal advancement at a rival's expense, supports my argument that Roman provincial society should be considered a 'strong grid' society on Douglas's model.⁵⁴⁸ It was a strongly hierarchical society in which individuals recognised their rivals for social advancement, and used any means necessary to further their own aims at their opponents' expense. Cursing would have been justified in the petitioner's own mind as a response to either the blatant wrong-doing of thieves or the unjust (in their opinion) legal challenges of their opponents in court. This creates the moral subjectivity that anthropologists have noted in other cultural contexts, and which Gordon has questioned in Roman 'prayers for justice.'⁵⁴⁹

Kapferer has shown how Sinhalese sorcery practices fit into wider Buddhist themes of justice and punishment. The rituals practiced in modern Sri Lanka make sense to the people who use them because they fit into their understanding of their historical, social and political contexts.⁵⁵⁰ The curse tablets from the north-west tapped into widely-held beliefs about the nature of divine punishment, condemning their victims to illnesses regularly thought to have supernatural causes. Chief among these were blindness and insanity, both of which had no known cause or treatment in contemporary secular medicine.⁵⁵¹ Because of this, the power of the gods – either acting for their own reasons or at the bidding or coercion of humans – was usually thought to be the cause of such ailments. Chaniotis noted that over half of the confession *stelae* from Asia Minor describe

⁵⁴⁶ *Mentem memoriam intus intestinum cor medullas uenas.*

⁵⁴⁷ On listing in Graeco-Roman cursing see Gordon, 1999b.

⁵⁴⁸ See above, Section 4.3.4.

⁵⁴⁹ Gordon, 2013a, p. 267. This subjectivity has been noted by the following anthropologists: Evans-Pritchard, 1937, pp. 409-416; Feddema, 1997, pp. 203-204; Kapferer, 1997, pp. 46-47; 2002b, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁵⁰ Kapferer, 1997, pp. 270-273.

⁵⁵¹ Chaniotis, 1995, pp. 327-328.

the illnesses suffered by those involved as relating to either the eyes or the mind, showing that these were clearly the prime targets for divine anger.⁵⁵² A thorough study of my database reveals a similar situation among the curse tablets from the north-west, in that the eyes and mind are among the most frequent body parts targeted by petitioners.⁵⁵³ The purpose of directing a curse towards parts of the body most regularly attacked by divine punishment was to give the victim no choice but to confess their crime to the gods and perform some kind of propitiatory rite. Again this would be acted out in places where an audience was possible, meaning that the victim's reputation and social standing could be damaged.

The public nature of these punishments ties the curse tablets into wider Roman concepts of legal punishment and justice, as well as divine. There seems to have been a broad consensus among lawmakers and philosophers throughout the Roman period that the prime purpose of punishment was deterrence, and as a result extreme examples were required to scare off those who might be tempted to break the law.⁵⁵⁴ Accordingly, aggravated death sentences became the norm under the Empire, with crucifixion and *damnatio ad bestias* the most frequent for those considered *humiliores*.⁵⁵⁵ Prominent public executions such as these alienated the convict from normal society, making them an object of ridicule, and trivialising their death into a form of mass entertainment.⁵⁵⁶ I argue that the authors of curse tablets from the north-west took these concepts of state-administered justice and applied them to their own personal needs.

4.3.7: Social tension

In times of personal crisis or stress, people often have some idea about who is to blame. Communities never function in total harmony, and there will always be resentments, fear

⁵⁵² Chaniotis, 1995, p. 65.

⁵⁵³ The eyes of the victims are targeted on the following: CTNW 20, 65, 88, 206, 306. The mind, or some other mental faculty, of the victims is targeted on these curses: CTNW 65, 141, 296.

⁵⁵⁴ Robinson, 2007, p. 181.

⁵⁵⁵ This encompassed anyone not a senator, equestrian, decurion or military veteran. For more on the distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* see Bauman, 1996, p. 128ff.

⁵⁵⁶ Coleman, 1990, pp. 46-47.

and suspicion between people who live side-by-side.⁵⁵⁷ Anthropologists have recognised that it is in these contexts that rumour, gossip and magic thrive, because they have the effect of nurturing pre-existing tensions and amplifying the fears and suspicions people hold about the abilities and intentions of their enemies. In social contexts in which the belief in magic is endemic, life is lived with the presumption of malice – any human with sufficient motive can access the knowledge, skills and materials required to perform malicious magic, and they will seek to harm others simply because they can.⁵⁵⁸ In the ethnographic literature this is shown to elicit various responses, predominantly protective charms and rituals designed to break or reverse the effects of malicious magic.⁵⁵⁹ In certain traditional societies, particularly in Africa, witch-hunts can break out at times of particularly heightened social tension, and the people who are targeted tend to be known individuals who have been blamed for specific misfortunes.⁵⁶⁰

I would argue that similar responses are also visible in the surviving evidence from the Graeco-Roman world, although they can be difficult to detect. On the one hand there are the charms, amulets and rituals designed to defend against magical attacks for which there is ample ancient evidence,⁵⁶¹ and which were so common in the ancient world that one scholar has referred to the conflict between curse tablets and protective amulets as a magical “arms race.”⁵⁶² On the other hand, the presumption of malice could provoke pre-emptive strikes in an attempt to get ahead of seemingly inevitable attacks that were bound to come from known or unknown enemies. Although reported by anthropologists who were able to interview magical practitioners, these responses are hard to detect in the ancient evidence because we cannot access the exact thought processes that preceded the performance of the cursing ritual. However, a few formulas suggest that perhaps such motivations were at work.

⁵⁵⁷ Stewart and Strathern, 2004, p. 23.

⁵⁵⁸ Ashforth, 2005, pp. 69-71.

⁵⁵⁹ The Azande have many forms of protective magic (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 426) and one of the most widespread rituals among the Sinhalese Buddhists in Sri Lanka is aimed at breaking or countering malicious magical attacks (Kapferer, 1997, pp. 83-184).

⁵⁶⁰ Stewart and Strathern, 2004, pp. 64-66; Ashforth, 2005, p. 12.

⁵⁶¹ Gager, 1992, pp. 219-222. For more on protective amulets see Kotansky, 1994. Corbeill (2004, p. 32) discusses protective gestures as featured in the work of ancient authors such as Quintilian and Pliny the Elder.

⁵⁶² Ogden, 1999, p. 52.

At Mainz, petitioners sometimes included formulas that barred the victim from overturning the curse using magical or religious rituals, as shown by this example:⁵⁶³

... nec se possint redimere nec hosteis lanatis nec plum(i)bis nec auro nec argento redimere a numine tuo nisi ut illas uorent canes uermes adque alia portenta...

...these should not be able to be redeemed with woollen offerings. Neither through lead nor through gold nor through silver can they redeem themselves from your divine power, unless dogs, worms and other monsters devour them...

Here the petitioner is explicitly stating that the victim cannot break the curse with animal sacrifices, offerings of money or counter-curses. This shows that, from the perspective of the petitioner it was at least conceivable that their victims might engage in similar rituals, either to protect from curses or to directly attack back. In another tablet deposited at the same temple, the petitioner is equally specific in heading off protective rituals.⁵⁶⁴

neque se possit redimere nulla pe<r>cunia nullaue re neq(ue) abs te neque ab ullo deo nisi ut exitum malum

...and that he cannot redeem himself with money or anything else, neither from you nor from some other god, except with a bad death...

Again, the petitioner is aware that their victim could escape the curse by appealing to the gods or by making certain offerings, and has taken definitive steps to make such attempts impossible. In both of these cases, the petitioners knew who their victims were, and referred to them in the curse by name. On CTNW 306 the victim is a certain Liberalis, who was being cursed for reasons unspecified in the text. On CTNW 299 there are three named victims, Gemella, who is accused of stealing some brooches, and Verecunda and Paterna, who have apparently cheated the “fortune and strength” of the petitioner.⁵⁶⁵ Here we have an example of the petitioner knowing exactly who the cause of their current misfortune is, and taking explicit action in the form of performing a curse ritual.

⁵⁶³ CTNW 299.

⁵⁶⁴ CTNW 306.

⁵⁶⁵ *Res meas uiresque fraudarunt*. For specific details of the interpretation of this double curse see Blänsdorf, 2012, pp. 62-63.

In the words of Ashforth, “acts of witchcraft are not usually perpetrated by strangers.”⁵⁶⁶ The pre-existing social tensions and resentments within small communities, nurtured and sustained by the ever-present forces of gossip and rumour, can supply names of known enemies whom individuals would naturally assume to be the cause of any new misfortune. In cultures across the world, the use of magic is inextricably tied to complex webs of relationships between family and acquaintances. Among both the Cewa in southern Africa and Sinhalese Buddhists in Sri Lanka, magical attacks are only perpetrated by relatives within established kinship systems, and can provoke feelings of intense fear and suspicion among relatives and acquaintances.⁵⁶⁷

This supplying of names from existing social relationships is seemingly evident on the Bad Kreuznach juridical curses, where the petitioners seem to have a good idea of those who could potentially be involved in the suit before the trial had even begun. The theft curses with long lists of victims may have been provoked by similar suspicions about potential enemies within a community. Tomlin implied just such a motivation in the publication of CTNW 134, which was written after the theft of a cloak from the slave quarters of a house in Roman Leicester.⁵⁶⁸ The petitioner, Servandus, could not have known exactly which of his fellow slaves stole his cloak (if any), and if he could not narrow his suspicions down then the only option left would be to curse them all and let the god apply the punishment to the correct culprit. Servandus is exceptional in that he had a ready-made list of suspects in the roll call of fellow slaves. Other petitioners were not so fortunate, and probably relied on their own witnessing of suspicious behaviour to identify potential suspects or, if that was lacking, gossip and rumours spread around their community. People who lost money or other goods may naturally have suspected not only those in their community who had a reputation for petty crime or untrustworthy behaviour, but also those considered enemies because of past conflicts or pre-existing resentments.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁶ Ashforth, 2005, p. 71.

⁵⁶⁷ Cewa: Marwick, 1965, p. 3; Sinhalese Buddhists: Kapferer, 1997, p. 40.

⁵⁶⁸ Tomlin, 2008b, p. 214.

⁵⁶⁹ Heald, 1986, p. 67.

A thorough examination of my database has shown that instances of petitioners naming their victims far outweigh those with non-specific formulas (95 to 46), mostly of individuals or pairs, but in some exceptional cases running to around 20 names. The longest lists of victims tend to be on juridical curses, in particular those from Bad Kreuznach, which went to great lengths to ensure that the curse hit everyone involved in the trial, as I have already discussed. The majority of those that use non-specific formulas to target their victims are curses against thieves (42 of 46). This is to be expected: it would have been rare that a victim of burglary, pickpocketing or bath-house theft would have known the identity of the culprit, especially if no witnesses came forward or if the incident was too minor to go to court. It was in these circumstances that petitioners made fullest use of the mutually exclusive alternative formulas so popular in Roman Britain – “whether male or female, whether slave or free” – so that the thief would suffer no matter who they were.⁵⁷⁰ The exception to this seems to be curses against those who stole money, almost half of which have named victims (8 of 19). Some of these complain of the theft of large sums, stretching to thousands or even tens of thousands of *denarii*, so they are probably embezzled deposits or loans. However, some of the longest lists of victims appear on curses against thieves of relatively minor sums, or objects such as cloaks or jewellery. It is clearly foolish to imagine a conspiracy of almost 20 people involved in the theft of six silver coins or a simple cloak,⁵⁷¹ so there must be something else at work in these instances. I have argued here that it is possible that the victims named on curse tablets from the north-west were people in the community that the petitioner already thought of as rivals or enemies, and therefore the people who would naturally be suspected of causing any new misfortune.

4.4: Conclusions

This chapter has sought to answer a seemingly simple question: why did people curse? From the texts of the tablets themselves it can be shown that the most basic answer to

⁵⁷⁰ These formulas will be discussed further in Section 5.3.1.

⁵⁷¹ CTNW 19 and CTNW 134 respectively.

this question is that an individual made a curse tablet in an attempt to use supernatural powers to gain control over people or animals in order to influence the outcome of events. The factors of life to which these rituals were turned across the Graeco-Roman world have been broken down into a number of general categories by modern scholars since Audollent, but in the north-western provinces they seem to have been overwhelmingly focussed on two of these categories: punishing thieves and winning legal trials. I have argued throughout this chapter that this classification of motives is not a satisfactory answer to the question, and that there are more complex social motivations at work. These may not be explicitly detailed in the curse texts themselves, but nevertheless they need to be examined and discussed if the study of ancient cursing is to progress.

To get to the heart of the problem, the above question needs to be reworded: instead of asking “why did people curse?” perhaps we should be asking “why did people curse and not do something else or do nothing?” This new question demands that curse tablets be seen not as isolated phenomena to be classified by modern scholars, but as potential strategies for getting on with human life within a social context. As a result of this, I have tried to avoid the scholarly discussions on a pan-imperial level, instead focussing my analysis on the local and regional contexts of the Roman north-west.

In these cultural settings it is clear that curse tablets were part of local responses to situations of crisis and conflict. Becoming the victim of theft or preparing to face trial in court provoked the conducting of cursing rituals in the north-west because these gave individuals an outlet for the natural human desire to act in the face of stress or tension. The feeling of powerlessness is undesirable, and previous scholars have noted that curse tablet rituals allow the petitioner to feel that they have at least a small amount of control over whatever personal crisis they are living through.⁵⁷² In the cases of curses against thieves, conducting the rituals may have been more accessible, and may have seemed more effective or more satisfying, than pursuing official legal prosecution in the courts. In theory the legal system was open to all Roman citizens in the provinces, but in practice it

⁵⁷² Like, for example Graf (1997a), as was discussed above in Section 4.3.2.

was dependent on the movements and inclination of the relevant officials. Prosecuting thieves required the accuser to catch them in the act, or at least in possession of the stolen item,⁵⁷³ a difficult and potentially dangerous task in a society with no official police force.⁵⁷⁴ For the low-level crimes reported in some of the curse tablets, like the theft of a cloak or a pair of gloves, the reality was that legal action was out of reach for the vast majority of people.

By using work carried out by ethnographers and anthropologists I have shown that, just like similar practices found across traditional societies, the underlying motivations behind Roman cursing rituals are likely to have their roots in the social structures in which the petitioners were embedded. Cursing gave people the ability to act safely, avoiding direct public confrontation by virtue of the secrecy inherent in many of the settings in which the rituals took place. In this way, cursing was intimately linked to gossip and rumour, both of which have an element of plausible deniability but which could operate as devastating attacks on enemies. When viewed from this perspective, the action of enacting a cursing ritual is essentially a strategy for preserving one's own reputation whilst simultaneously attempting to damage that of rivals or enemies. For this to be a relevant aim of ritual action, Douglas and Kapferer show that the social context has to be one of strong internal divisions and clear hierarchies, and I have demonstrated that this closely matches the situation in the Roman provinces. To achieve this damaging of rivals, many petitioners directly assaulted their victim's reputation by causing them to become the object of ridicule or mockery in temples or law courts, where audiences of their peers could gloat over their divinely-sanctioned misery. Petitioners could have justified using magical attacks in this way because of the perceived wrong-doing of the victims, especially suspected thieves. In this way Roman cursing is similar to the morally ambiguous sorcery practices observed by anthropologists who have worked in Africa and Sri Lanka.

⁵⁷³ *Dig.* 47.2.2-8. This requirement could be fulfilled, from the time of the Twelve Tables onwards, through a ritualised search of the suspect's home by a naked accuser, a strange process that later Roman jurists considered ridiculous (Gai., *Inst.* 3.188-93).

⁵⁷⁴ On policing the Roman Empire see Fuhrmann, 2012.

It is the public face of the punishments that was perhaps the most compelling reason to use curse tablets in the ways visible in the north-western evidence. The petitioners of theft curses expected the success of their curse to be outwardly displayed, either through the public confession of the accused thief or their visible suffering of misfortune or sickness. To a certain extent this mirrors wider Roman concepts of justice that demanded extreme punishments in public places to act as displays of Roman power and as deterrents to other criminals. Visible success certainly contributed to the perpetuation of curse tablets as a legitimate and effective response to crisis situations, as communal gossip and rumours would have spread suspicions of magical activity perpetrated against the affected individuals.

This chapter has begun to make the case for the significance of cursing in ongoing social relationships in the north-western Roman provinces, but there are several lines of thought that are still to be fully pursued. There is more to be said on the connections between cursing rituals and expressions of power in the provinces, especially in terms of the sources of power that cursing rituals used, and the ways in which they negotiated existing power structures. Perhaps the most significant questions that have been raised but not answered in this chapter are those around the relationships between petitioners and their victims. I have already mentioned the importance of naming and the use of mutually exclusive alternative formulas, and the discussion of these will be further developed in Chapter 5, in the context of recent academic debates around the concept of identity.

Chapter 5: Cursing, Power and Identity

5.1: Introduction

In the previous chapters I have sought to embed cursing into the physical, religious, legal and social contexts of the north-western provinces, but have left unanswered many questions around the petitioners and victims themselves. In this final chapter I will set out to examine the individual people involved in cursing in the north-west, to analyse how they constructed and expressed their social personas, and how they used the context of cursing to negotiate relationships within their communities. This chapter is also the conclusion of a continuous narrowing of focus throughout this study, from wider Graeco-Roman traditions of cursing (Chapter 1), through regional, local and site-specific patterns in the north-west (Chapters 2 and 3), down, in this chapter, to specific individuals at particular moments of time. Although I have shown that factors such as temple architecture, widely-held beliefs and stock formulas were important in the practice of cursing, ultimately each individual tablet was the outcome of very specific personal circumstances, and reflected something of how the petitioner envisioned themselves and the world around them in that moment. To produce an effective curse, the petitioners needed to accurately identify their victims, so that the gods would know which individual to target. Naming was the obvious method by which this could be achieved, and I have already discussed the strategies that some petitioners used to supply the names of their victims.⁵⁷⁵ However, what remains to be discussed is the names themselves, and what they tell us about the individual petitioners and victims who bore them. Even though they rarely choose it for themselves, a person's name is central to their understanding of their self, and to the identity that they display to those around them. Names can convey information about the gender, status, ethnicity, religion and family relations of an individual, and people can use their names to actively construct an identity by

⁵⁷⁵ See above, Section 4.3.7.

emphasising certain factors and masking others.⁵⁷⁶ When naming names, therefore, the petitioners of the curse tablets from the north-west were making active choices based on the ways in which they themselves, as well as their victims, had displayed their identities within their social contexts.

This brings the study of curse tablets into contact with ongoing debates within archaeology – especially in Britain – concerning the ways in which the inhabitants of the provinces identified themselves in relation to other people and to the changing circumstances created by Roman conquest and subsequent imperial rule. Since the 1990s there has been a considerable amount of work carried out in order to shift the emphasis of study onto individuals within their contexts, away from the bounded cultural groups and mono-directional cultural evolutions that were the focus of earlier work.⁵⁷⁷ In particular, archaeologists have used the concept of ‘identity’ to get closer to the lived experience of individuals in the Roman provinces, using evidence as wide-ranging as food remains, pottery, building design and clothing.⁵⁷⁸ Although some religious evidence has featured in the debate, in terms of changes in monumental temple design and ritual practice,⁵⁷⁹ curse tablets have rarely been discussed.⁵⁸⁰ Where they have been used, it has tended to be as evidence for the spread of Latin literacy in the provinces, or in specialised onomastic literature as sources for patterns in Latin and Celtic naming elements.⁵⁸¹ In this chapter I will argue that this is an oversight, and that new understandings of Roman provincial society can be gained by considering the ways in which curses were actively used in the construction of individual and group identity. Petitioners needed to have some idea of who they were cursing, and also needed to be sure that they were targeting the right person. They did this by using the displayed identity

⁵⁷⁶ This has been identified by scholars in a wide variety of contexts, from farmers in 18th century China (Campbell *et al.*, 2002) to 21st century internet communities (Zhao *et al.*, 2008).

⁵⁷⁷ The literature on this is vast, and I have already summarised some of it in Section 1.5.3. See also Eckardt, 2014, p. 4ff.

⁵⁷⁸ Cool, 2006; Revell, 2009; Rothe, 2009; Eckardt, 2014, to name just a few examples.

⁵⁷⁹ See in particular Derks, 1998; Revell, 2007. Despite these examples, Edwards (2005, p. 113) has pointed out that there are still only limited discussions in scholarship on the role of religion in identity construction or its relationship with power.

⁵⁸⁰ They are briefly mentioned by Eckardt (2014, pp. 180-182) and Mattingly (2004, p. 20), and in slightly more detail by Revell (2009, pp. 123-125), but then only those from Bath as part of a larger case study of ritual activity in that town.

⁵⁸¹ See, for example, Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier, 2001; Mullen, 2007b.

of their victims, in terms of names and other markers of social identities to signify which individuals were to be targeted. I will argue that curse tablets can show the precise, practical usage of identity in the actions of people's daily lives.

Alongside identity, the other central theme of this chapter is power. Curse tablets, like many religious and magical rituals, are fundamentally concerned with the expression and manipulation of power in various forms. As was discussed in Chapter 3, every movement, gesture and action involved in cursing rituals was intended to add more power to the curse so that it would be more likely to succeed, and the language of the curses was designed to ensure that the power of the gods or the spirits of the dead would be fully brought to bear on the victims. In this way cursing had a direct influence on the power relations between the involved parties, with potentially significant consequences for the wider community. By discussing the relationships between cursing rituals and power I am bringing this study into contact with another contested debate within archaeology surrounding the agency of past people, or their ability to act in social situations, and the importance of those actions. In the later sections of this chapter I will follow work carried out by anthropologists, especially Kapferer, in exploring how sorcery rituals "articulate assumptions about the orientation of humans towards power,"⁵⁸² and how they are intimately bound up with the negotiation of human power structures by individuals as part of their lived experience. This will go some way towards answering what Gardner has seen as a "shortfall in modern archaeology":⁵⁸³ that scholars have often found it hard to reconcile a greater understanding of individual or small-group identity with large political units and power structures.

⁵⁸² Kapferer, 1997, p. 19.

⁵⁸³ Gardner, 2013, p. 10.

5.2: Identity and the names on the tablets

5.2.1: *What is identity?*

For at least 15 years, the concept of identity has been at the forefront of academic discussions about cultural life in the north-western Roman provinces, especially among scholars based in Britain and the Netherlands. This concept has been used primarily as a reaction against older theories of Romanisation, which saw cultural change in the provinces as a relatively simple, mono-directional and top-down process, spurred on by the native elite's pursuit of Roman wealth and power. This model emphasised a clear divide between Romans and natives, which could be identified archaeologically by evidence such as the presence or absence of certain material types, funerary practices or the structuring of settlement patterns. From the 1990s onwards, archaeologists began to give more of a voice to the native peoples that were conquered by the Roman Empire, and from this came the application of theories of identity.⁵⁸⁴ This allowed scholars to discuss cultural change as a process that was complex, multi-directional and, importantly, without a definable endpoint. However, since this time the debate has become fractious and fractured, and has at times been prone to bouts of introspection and self-analysis, all of which makes it increasingly hard both to accurately summarise the scholarship and to find any generally agreed-upon definitions of key terms.⁵⁸⁵ It is beyond the scope of this study to provide a comprehensive, critical survey of this dynamic area of study, but a brief discussion of the implications of some of this work is necessary in order to properly set the current study in the context of relevant prevailing approaches.

Identity as a concept has been defined in many different ways by those archaeologists and ancient historians who have used it. Nevertheless, some common

⁵⁸⁴ The work of Millett, Woolf and others paved the way for greater appreciation of (elite) native involvement in provincial culture: see Blagg and Millett, 1990; Millett, 1990; Woolf, 1997; G. Woolf, 1998; James and Millett, 2001. Post-colonialist archaeologists such as Mattingly (1997; 2004); Webster (1997a; 2001); Hingley (1996) also gave voice to natives from lower social orders. Among the earliest scholars to study identity in the Roman provinces were Jones (1997); Laurence and Berry (1998); Hill (2001); Gardner (2002).

⁵⁸⁵ For a recent analysis of the debate, including the raising of these and other concerns, see Versluys, 2014.

themes occur, and hence a working definition that is relevant to this study can be produced. As other scholars have done, I define identity as “the ways in which individuals are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals.”⁵⁸⁶ The individual is active in and conscious of this process, which is ongoing and changes over time.⁵⁸⁷ Not only do identities change over time, but they are also multiple and overlapping, and the relative importance of these multiple identities changes depending on audience and context.⁵⁸⁸ This point is crucial, because, as social scientists have argued, ‘identity’ is not the same as ‘self’,⁵⁸⁹ in that identities are created by being announced to others by the individual, or by being assigned to the individual by others.⁵⁹⁰ Identities are therefore performed through embodiment and action within broader social contexts, implying at least some active engagement on the part of the individual.⁵⁹¹ In contrast, self has been defined as “an individual’s reflective sense of her own particular identity,”⁵⁹² and “an individual’s private experience of herself.”⁵⁹³ No other people are implicated in the definition of self, although self is clearly related to the processes that determine the individual’s more publicly-negotiated identities. It should be stressed that, although identity and self are distinct, one cannot exist without the other.

Among the evidence for identity in the Roman provinces, curse tablets are uniquely placed in what they can tell us about this active performance of identity. Although at first glance it may seem that the petitioners are expressing ‘self’ rather than ‘identity’ in these secret private rituals, the deities or spirits to which the curses were often addressed can be considered as the audience. The petitioners expected that their curse would be read or heard by whatever supernatural power they were invoking, and as a result they presented themselves and their victims in very specific ways, as shall be discussed throughout this chapter. These rituals were intimate moments of communication between

⁵⁸⁶ Jenkins, 2004, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁷ Thomas, 1996, p. 111; Insoll, 2007, p. 6; Derks and Roymans, 2009b, pp. 1-2; Eckardt, 2014, p. 5.

⁵⁸⁸ Revell, 2009, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁸⁹ Stone, 1990, pp. 142-143.

⁵⁹⁰ Jenkins, 2004, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁹¹ Diaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹² Jenkins, 2004, p. 27.

⁵⁹³ Jenkins, 2004, p. 28.

mortals and deities, a relationship that is hard to access through other forms of surviving evidence such as lapidary inscriptions. The texts of the curse tablets also preserve the ways in which the petitioners received, understood and used the performed identity of their victims, further establishing their importance as evidence for the performance of identity in the Roman provinces.

The study of identity in the Roman provinces has been primarily concerned with ethnic identity, especially the “expression and articulation of diverse cultural identities in response to Roman imperialism.”⁵⁹⁴ This idea of diverse responses has become central, and scholars have come to the realisation that Roman culture was not a fixed package that was uniformly forced on provincial people from the top down, but a fluid concept that was constantly negotiated and redefined through everyday activities.⁵⁹⁵ It is argued that people in the provinces adopted and adapted elements of Roman culture as suited their own needs, and through the lens of existing cultural concepts. In so doing they created new ways of expressing all aspects of social identity, not just ethnicity but also wealth, rank, gender, age and occupation.⁵⁹⁶ However, scholarly attention has rarely turned away from questions of ethnicity to examine these other aspects of identity, and the lack of concern for Roman provincial women in particular has attracted criticism.⁵⁹⁷

After a thorough examination of the material collected for this study I have determined that the evidence of the curse tablets can be most fruitfully applied to three areas of identity study: ethnicity, gender and legal status. As will be discussed in the next section, it is these three categories that can be best determined from the details inscribed on the surviving lead tablets, with variations within and between each of the three. Although I recognise that other markers of identity, such as age, wealth, occupation and disability, should be considered just as important for attempting to reconstruct past identity, there is very little that curse tablets can contribute to those particular debates.

⁵⁹⁴ Pitts, 2007, p. 695. Dutch scholars have been particularly concerned with this, as the ever-growing bibliography on groups such as the Batavians demonstrates (Roymans and Theuvs, 1991; Derks and Roymans, 2009a).

⁵⁹⁵ G. Woolf, 1998, p. 245; Mattingly, 2004, p. 9; Revell, 2009, p. 8; Rothe, 2009, p. 78.

⁵⁹⁶ Revell, 2009, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁹⁷ Baker, 2003; Revell, 2010.

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that, although we cannot know exactly the age and ability of the petitioners, their experience of cursing will have differed with these and other factors.⁵⁹⁸ Human experience is not homogeneous, and should not be treated as such.

5.2.2: *What's in a name?*

Before the curse tablets can be assessed for their contribution to the scholarly debates around identity and power, it is necessary to examine the evidence provided by the texts themselves. As I have mentioned, this chapter will be focussed primarily on the names mentioned in the tablets and the data relating to identity that can be drawn from them.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines have drawn connections between a person's name and their senses of identity and self.⁵⁹⁹ Names can carry clues as to an individual's gender, ethnicity, social status, family ties and occupation, allowing him/herself and others to place them within communities and social groups. This has been recognised by scholars of the ancient world too, and there is a rich field of ancient onomastics dedicated to understanding the complex development of ancient naming traditions over time, and the significance of these changes.⁶⁰⁰ Large corpora of names have been assembled by scholars, greatly aiding the study of collections of texts such as the north-western curses.⁶⁰¹ The methods that ancient people used when naming others also had a social significance, as they could vary according to the formality of circumstances, the nature of the subjects being discussed and the age, sex and status of both speaker and addressee.⁶⁰²

Methods and forms of naming changed over time and space throughout the Roman period, and varied depending on the gender, legal status and ethnic origins of the

⁵⁹⁸ See the criticisms of phenomenology discussed in Section 2.1.

⁵⁹⁹ See Dion, 1983; Finch, 2008.

⁶⁰⁰ For detailed studies of the development of Roman naming practices see Salway, 1994; Jones, 1996; Dickey, 2002.

⁶⁰¹ Klebs *et al.*, 1897; Kajanto, 1965; Jones *et al.*, 1971-1992; Lőrincz and Mócsy, 1994-2002; Delamarre, 2007.

⁶⁰² Adams, 1978, p. 145.

individuals in question. The period in which male Roman citizens were given *tria nomina* was relatively brief, covering the late republic and early Empire up to around the end of the first century AD.⁶⁰³ After this time, when most of the curses in this study were created, it was more common for citizens to be known by a *duo nomina* formula composed of a *nomen* and *cognomen*, the latter of which was usually the identifying name for each individual.⁶⁰⁴ In the Celtic world, both under Roman rule and probably also before, it seems that people were most regularly known by a single name, with a patronymic occasionally added for further identification in formal situations or when outside the family.⁶⁰⁵ To display a Roman *tria nomina* in the provinces was to mark oneself out as the holder of certain privileges, and it is likely that, in the early imperial period at least, full Roman citizens were rarely found outside the groups of local elites or native Italians and their descendants.⁶⁰⁶

Over the first century, and especially in the second, the number of Roman citizens in the provinces grew significantly. Through service in local government or the army, or through manumission of slaves, ever-increasing numbers of people could call themselves citizens, and could therefore access (in theory) the legal and social privileges that continued to be attached to this status. Scholars have disagreed over the exact extent to which citizenship grew over the first two centuries of the imperial period,⁶⁰⁷ but all would agree that there were more citizens than ever before when Caracalla issued the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212.⁶⁰⁸ This edict granted citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire, but probably had the greatest impact on naming conventions in the east, where previous demand for citizenship had been weaker than in the west.⁶⁰⁹ Studies have shown that, as a marker of their new citizenship after the edict, many new citizens across the Empire adopted the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the emperor, M. Aurelius, but kept their

⁶⁰³ Mullen, 2007b, p. 40.

⁶⁰⁴ Mullen, 2007b, p. 40.

⁶⁰⁵ Mullen, 2007b, p. 40.

⁶⁰⁶ Salway, 1994, p. 133; Tomlin, 2011b, p. 143.

⁶⁰⁷ Compare, for example, Meyer, 1990 with Garnsey, 2004.

⁶⁰⁸ For the edict see Cass. Dio 78.9.5.

⁶⁰⁹ This has swayed some scholars, such as Garnsey (2004) and Salway (1994), to make wider conclusions than are necessarily supported by the evidence.

original name as their *cognomen*.⁶¹⁰ This was not universal, and some new citizens took the names of other benefactors or patrons depending on their own individual circumstances. Although this is easily attestable in papyrological and epigraphic evidence from across the Empire, it is invisible on the curse tablets collected for this study. As will be discussed below, very few individuals were named using *tria* or *duo nomina*, with the vast majority identified by *cognomina* alone. This is significant, and makes identifying the legal status of the individual victims and petitioners difficult.

To assess trends in gender, ethnicity and legal status among the named individuals on the curse tablets from the study area, I have created a database of all personal names.⁶¹¹ For each name their role (victim, petitioner, matronym, patronym or patron), gender, language and legal status was also recorded. In total there are 533 names on the 312 curse tablets collected for this study. Most of these names are victims, with only 68 named petitioners across the study area (Figure 23). The possible reasons for this discrepancy will be discussed below, but in any case it is clear that petitioners did not consider naming themselves overly important on their written curse. As Eidinow has stated with regard to the Greek tablets, “most of the evidence about the writers of curse tablets draws on what can be gathered about the targets.”⁶¹² Building on my argument from the previous chapter – that magical attacks were not usually perpetrated by strangers – it follows that the petitioners of the north-western curse tablets probably knew their victims in some way. It can be suggested, therefore, that the petitioners were from broadly similar social groupings to their victims, or at the very least were not so far removed in social terms that interaction would be impossible.

⁶¹⁰ Salway, 1994, pp. 133-137.

⁶¹¹ Appendix 2. All data presented in this chapter is based on this.

⁶¹² Eidinow, 2007a, p. 144. This does seem to be an area in which there was commonality of practice between eastern and western cursing practices. Although I have been emphasising the local, contextual factors that influenced petitioners in the north-west, it is worth remembering that in some ways, cursing in these provinces was still part of wider patterns of belief and practice.

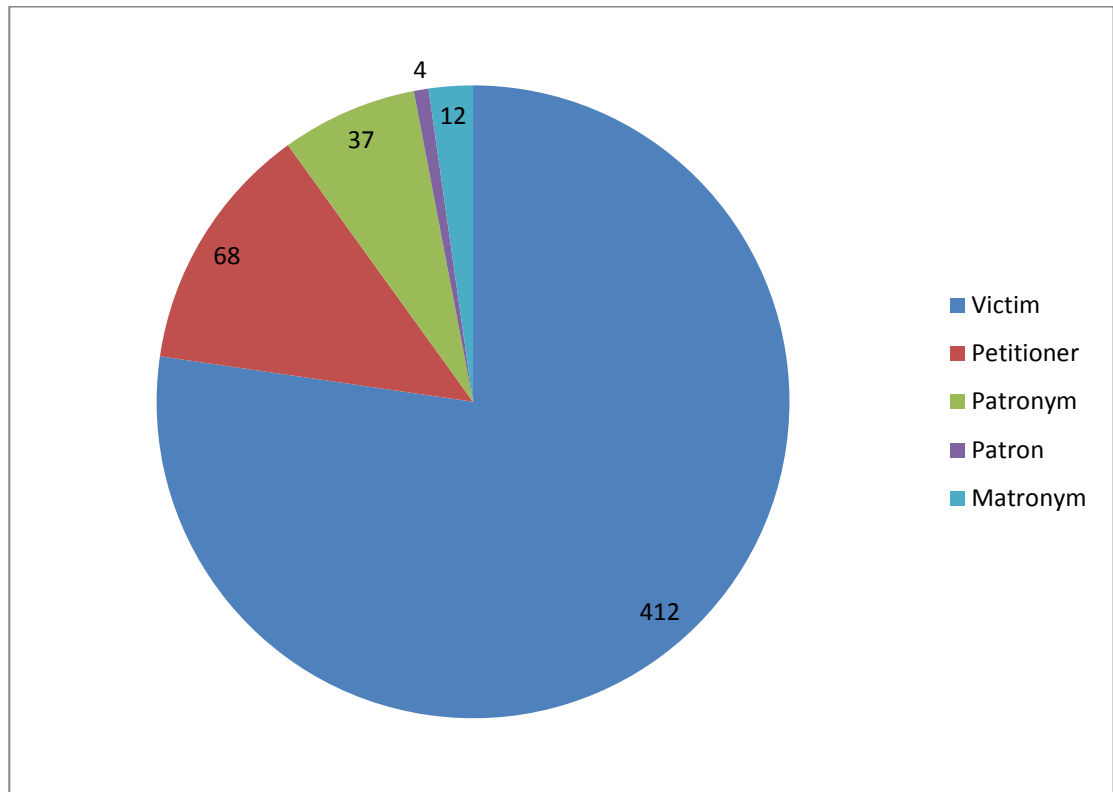


Figure 23: Total of names per role.

Determining the gender, language and legal status of each individual name is not always an easy task. Fewer problems exist around those names attested elsewhere, but many occur for the first and only time on the curse tablets. In these cases I have come to conclusions based on existing scholarship on naming in the north-western provinces, as well as the notes made in the publications of the individual tablets. More detail on how these conclusions were reached can be found in the following sections.

5.2.3: Gender

Gender was perhaps the easiest factor of identity to determine for the names on curse tablets, thanks to the masculine and feminine forms present in all of the languages represented.⁶¹³ There were more men than women among both victims and petitioners,

⁶¹³ As also noted by Hope (2001, p. 17) in her study of the funerary monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nimes.

which directly contradicts the literary stereotype of magic as the preserve of women.⁶¹⁴

Between both groups there is a very similar ratio of men to women; 24% of victims and 22% of petitioners were women (Figure 24 and Figure 25). Where readings are certain, the female petitioners mostly curse either unnamed victims or men, with only one case of a woman cursing other women.⁶¹⁵ In the eight tablets on which motive could be determined, all of the female petitioners were cursing thieves and burglars, predominantly of domestic objects, jewellery and money.⁶¹⁶ Following on from this evidence it could be argued that women engaged in cursing rituals to protect what was important to them in their daily lives – domestic property and the home – but which they could not technically protect through the legal system if they were under the *potestas* of their husband or father.⁶¹⁷ This may also be a reason why women are never the petitioners on juridical curses, either in those from the north-west or in any other Latin juridical curse.⁶¹⁸

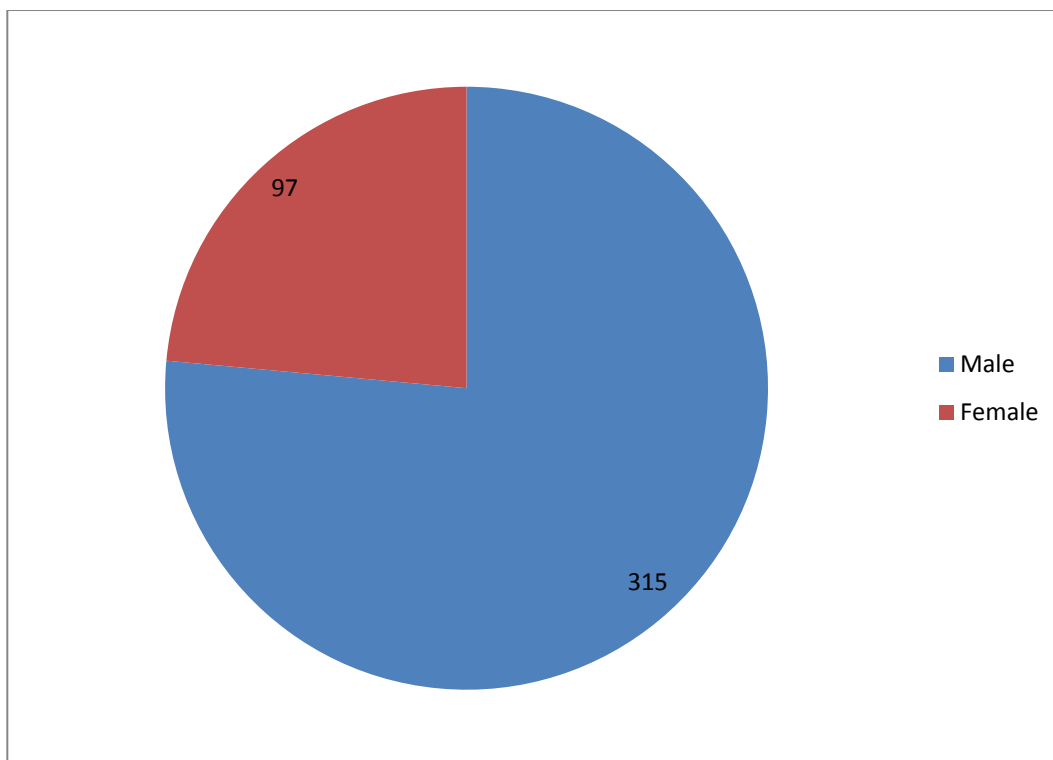


Figure 24: Victims by gender.

⁶¹⁴ See above, Section 1.3.

⁶¹⁵ Women cursing men: CTNW 92, 184, 308; women cursing unnamed victims: CTNW 20, 75, 76, 155, 172, 312; a woman cursing other women: CTNW 255.

⁶¹⁶ Theft of jewellery: CTNW 20, 312; theft of domestic objects: 76, 172; theft of money 92, 308; theft of clothing: 75; burglary: 155.

⁶¹⁷ Although of course their male relatives could do so: Gardner, 1986, p. 9; Allason-Jones, 1989, p. 21.

⁶¹⁸ See in the database in Kropp, 2008a.

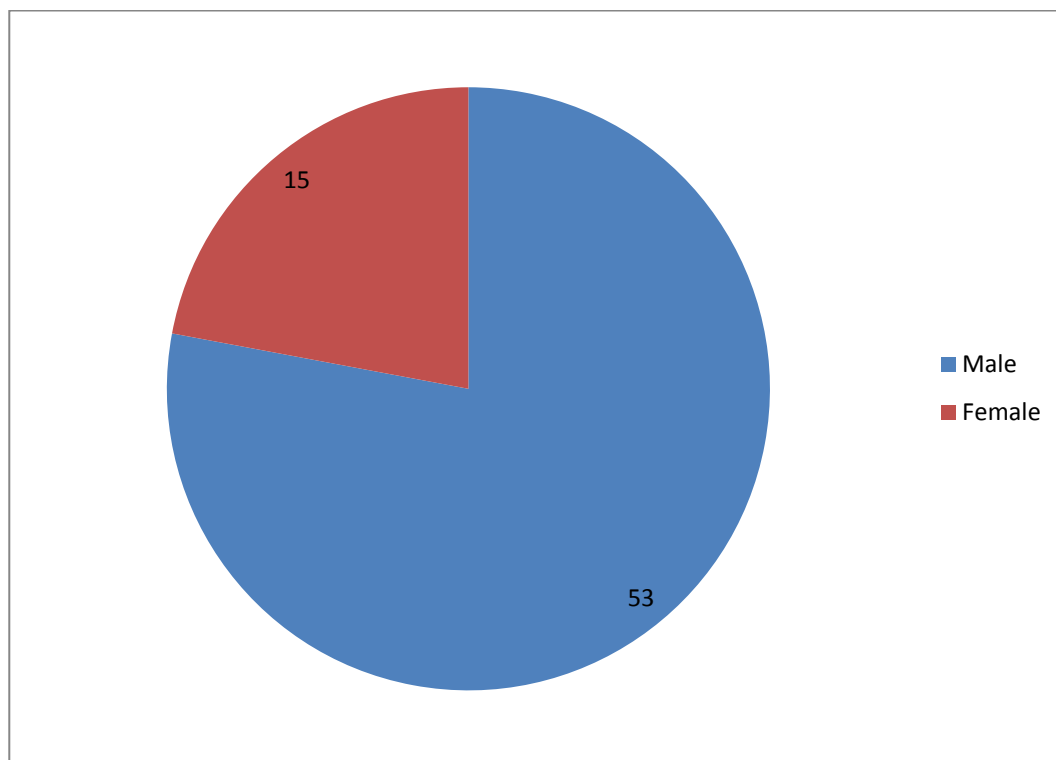


Figure 25: Petitioners by gender.

5.2.4: Language

Each name on the database was assessed for its language of origin, and classified as Latin, Celtic, Germanic or Greek. Complications arose where individuals were identified by multiple names of differing language origins, such as, for example, Trutmo Florus (Germanic and Latin) and Verres Tearus (Latin and Celtic).⁶¹⁹ For these cases, separate categories were created, as can be seen in Table 6. Overall there were considerably more Latin names than the other categories.

⁶¹⁹ CTNW 286 and 256 respectively.

Language	Number of names
Latin	330
Celtic	176
Greek	15
Latin and Celtic	6
Germanic	2
Latin and Germanic	2
Latin and Greek	1

Table 6: Number of names in each language.

This table is deceptively simple, and masks some interesting onomastic problems surrounding the language origins of personal names in the north-western provinces. Many of the names on the curse tablets are unambiguous in origin, being clearly based on one language or another. We can be reasonably confident that those individuals with unambiguously Celtic or Germanic names were indigenous to the north-western provinces, especially if the curse text also included loan words from Celtic languages, such as *baro*, or was written exclusively in Celtic.⁶²⁰ However, this direct relationship cannot be said to work for the Latin or Greek names. It would be simply impossible to argue that all 328 individuals who bore Latin names came from Rome or Italy, or even that they were all direct descendants of earlier immigrants from those areas. After the Roman conquest of the north-west, Latin names were introduced into the pool of potential names that parents could choose for their children, regardless of their actual cultural origins. Local people could also take on Roman names if they became citizens later in life, further complicating the picture. The curse tablets actually show some of these processes in action, where victims are identified with patronymics or matronymics. Out of the 46 parent-child relationships on the curse tablets there are nine cases in which parents with Celtic or

⁶²⁰ *Baro* is a loan-word meaning 'man', and appears on several British curses in the 'whether man or woman' formulas: CTNW 89, 119, 129, 173, 195. The curses written either wholly or partially in Celtic are: CTNW 12, 56, 126, 165, 205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 242, 245, 247-255. The significance of these language choices is discussed below.

Germanic names had children with Latin names.⁶²¹ Of these nine, five were from Bath, and one each was from Bad Kreuznach, Silchester, Larzac and Mainz, giving a fairly even spread across space and time. One of these curses in particular is worth examining in more detail.⁶²²

*Uricalus Do[c]ilosa ux[or] sua Docilis filius suus et Docilina Decentinus frater suus
Alogiosa nomina eorum qui iuraverunt <qui iuraverunt> ad fontem deae Suli(s)
prid(i)e idus Apriles quicumque illic periuraverit deae Suli facias illum sanguine suo
illud satisfacere*

Uricalus, Docilosa his wife, Docilis his son and Docilina, Decentinus his brother, Alogiosa: the names of those who have sworn <who have sworn> at the spring of the goddess Sulis on the 12th of April. Whosoever has perjured himself there you are to make him pay for it to the goddess Sulis in his own blood.

This curse against perjury seems to involve two branches of a family, perhaps over the division of inherited property.⁶²³ Whatever the reason, the curse encompasses two generations of the same family. Uricalus had a Celtic name, but his brother Decentinus had a Latin name. Uricalus married a woman with a Latin name, and they chose to name both of their children after her. Alogiosa, who is presumably Decentinus' wife, had a Latin name, but one which was ultimately derived from Greek (ἄλογος). This curse shows that, after several centuries of Roman rule in Britain, the lines between different naming practices had become increasingly blurred. Alongside these Celtic-named parents with Latin-named children, there are also two cases of parents with Latin names having children with Celtic names, and one of a Latin-named grandfather with a Celtic-named

⁶²¹ Annianus son of Matutina (CTNW 19, Bath, fourth century); Severianus son of Brigomalla (CTNW 55, Bath, second century); Marinianus son of Belcatus (CTNW 55, Bath, second century); Docilianus son of Brucerus (CTNW 60, Bath, second century); Docilis and Docilosa children of Uricalus (CTNW 11, Bath, fourth century); Iunctinus son of Docillina (CTNW 157, Silchester, fourth century); Potita daughter of Aucitiona (CTNW 255, Larzac, AD 90-110); Masuetus son of Senodaecmus (CTNW 271, Bad Kreuznach, first century); Trutmo Florus son of Clitmo (CTNW 286, Mainz, AD 65-130).

⁶²² CTNW 11.

⁶²³ Tomlin, 1988b, p. 227.

grandson.⁶²⁴ Although the evidence of the tablets cannot be called properly representative of the general population, it still lends strong support to the argument that there was no mono-directional 'Romanisation' process in the north-western provinces. People could choose names from a range of traditions in any language, either for themselves or their children.

If all of this is taken with earlier conclusions about the presence of local traditions and the role of magic in community life,⁶²⁵ it is likely that most of the people named on the curse tablets lived within small geographical areas near to the sites where they deposited their curses.⁶²⁶ This conclusion further blurs the distinctions between 'Roman' and 'native' made by earlier scholars,⁶²⁷ and shows the contribution that the evidence from curse tablets can make to the modern debates around the nature of cultural change in the Roman provinces.

Although some of the Latin names are unproblematic, previous scholars have raised doubts about others that could have either Latin or Celtic elements, or both. Since the nineteenth century, linguists and philologists have noted the popularity of name elements such as Sen-, Bel- and Luc- in Latin names in Celtic areas of the Empire, and have raised the possibility that they might mask Celtic linguistic origins.⁶²⁸ These are known by the German term *Decknamen*, which means 'cover-names', as it was originally assumed that they were attempts by Celtic people to mask their native culture under a veneer of Latin. However, although this phenomenon has been widely discussed, and long lists of potential Celtic name elements have been created,⁶²⁹ a problem still remains

⁶²⁴ Catonius son of Potentius (CTNW 55, Bath, fourth century); Rodanus son of Annula Regula (CTNW 218, Trier, fourth century); Attianus grandson (*nepos*) of Verax (CTNW 240, Autun, second century).

⁶²⁵ Throughout Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

⁶²⁶ As also argued by Mullen, 2007b, p. 51.

⁶²⁷ Such as, for example, King, 1990a; Reece, 1990.

⁶²⁸ See Raepsaet-Charlier, 2012, pp. 11-12 for an overview of the scholarship. Names with these elements occur frequently on the curse tablets from the north-west, including 18 names beginning with Sen-, 5 beginning with Bel- and 7 beginning with Luc-. See Appendix 2 for specific details.

⁶²⁹ Raybould and Sims-Williams, 2007; 2009. For reasons that make little sense to me, these lists of Celtic names and name elements rarely seem to include those on the curse tablets. As far as I have been able to establish, only Delamarre (2007) has included them, but his corpus does not give any etymological or phonetic background to the names. The online database put together by Mullen and Russell has more detail and also uses the curse tablet evidence, but only from Roman Britain (Mullen and Russell, 2008).

over how modern scholars can ever prove a deliberate choice of reference to both Celtic and Latin naming systems in individual cases.⁶³⁰ Perhaps this is not the right question to be asking, and at least one scholar of onomastics has questioned the need to seek clear-cut categories between Latin and indigenous name elements, preferring to focus on the significance of these *Decknamen* as evidence for cultural blending in the Roman provinces.⁶³¹ Again, those individuals on the curse tablets who bore Latin names, or names with both Latin and Celtic elements, were the products of a new lived experience created from the contact between Roman and indigenous cultures over the course of the Roman imperial period. As has been shown throughout this study, north-western cursing was a similar product of a blended culture, as the individual petitioners took inspiration from all the facets of their daily life in the creative production of their curses.

Dating curse tablets is notoriously difficult, and the specific issues with chronology on the five main sites in the north-west were dealt with in Chapter 2. This means that curse tablets are less useful than other forms of evidence for showing the development of naming traditions over time. Nevertheless, some broad conclusions can be made. The names of the victims and petitioners on the earliest curses, such as those from Mainz and Bad Kreuznach, are predominantly Latin.⁶³² This is perhaps unsurprising, as it is likely that the ritual of using inscribed lead sheets for cursing arrived in the north-west with soldiers and other incomers, a conclusion supported by the fact that the only tablet from the region that mentions military ranks came from first-century Mainz.⁶³³ Two interesting exceptions to this trend are the first-century Celtic curses from Chamalières and Larzac, which nevertheless include mostly Latin names, including some *duo* and *tria nomina*.⁶³⁴ It was not until the late second and early third centuries that the greater numbers of Celtic names appear on the tablets, primarily in Roman Britain. The Bath collection is the best source

⁶³⁰ Zeidler, 2012, p. 167.

⁶³¹ Raepsaet-Charlier, 2012, pp. 14-15.

⁶³² At Mainz there are 32 Latin, 4 Celtic and 2 Germanic names. At Bad Kreuznach there are 74 Latin and 7 Celtic names. These numbers from the Mainz tablets follow closely those from the rest of the epigraphic record from the same period in the city's history, a period which was dominated by Roman legionary soldiers (Boppert, 1992b; 1992a; Hope, 2001). Unfortunately there is very little surviving epigraphy from Bad Kreuznach so the same cannot be said for that town.

⁶³³ CTNW 278. CTNW 258 was found in a fort and therefore might be a curse against soldiers, but the text is not explicit.

⁶³⁴ CTNW 205 and 255.

for this period, although the tablets can only be tentatively dated based on palaeography. As Mullen has noted, the proportion of Celtic and Latin names remained very similar across the three centuries that cursing was practiced at the site, with a very slight trend towards more Latin names later on.⁶³⁵ Although Mullen linked this to the ongoing “progress of Romanisation” of the local population,⁶³⁶ I would argue for a more nuanced development. As has already been demonstrated, movement between Celtic to Latin naming practices was far from mono-directional, so drawing a simple correlation between Latin names and more Romanised provincials, as Mullen does, is probably unhelpful. At the Trier amphitheatre, the latest site of curse tablet deposition in the north-west, there are many more Latin names than Celtic.⁶³⁷ This is the opposite of what we would expect, considering the trend that Hatt noted in funerary inscriptions from the city, which seemed to show an increase in the proportion of Celtic names up to the end of the third century.⁶³⁸

Although there are fewer of them than either Latin or Celtic names, the presence of Greek names on the curse tablets from the north-western Roman provinces deserves comment.⁶³⁹ The gender split among the Greek names is more equal than across all name languages (6 women, 9 men). Only two of the people who bore Greek names were petitioners, a woman named Basilia and a man named Diogenis,⁶⁴⁰ both of whom cursed thieves, and both of whom deposited their curses at sites in Roman Britain. All the rest were victims, mostly suspects of theft,⁶⁴¹ although two Greek names appear as victims on one of the Bad Kreuznach juridical curses.⁶⁴² Although it is not explicitly stated for any of these individuals, it is likely that they were slaves, or had been slaves at some point in their lives. It is possible that some of them may have been transported to the north-west

⁶³⁵ Mullen, 2007b, p. 50. It will be interesting to see if similar data comes out of the Uley tablets when they are fully published, as they seem to cover a very similar time period.

⁶³⁶ Mullen, 2007b, p. 50.

⁶³⁷ 19 Latin names to 4 Celtic and Germanic.

⁶³⁸ Hatt, 1986, p. 29. This also seems to contradict MacMullen’s notion of a ‘Celtic renaissance’ (1965, p. 100), which would expect an increase of native names, rather than a decrease. See Reuter (2003) for a more detailed criticism of the ‘Celtic renaissance’ theory.

⁶³⁹ It should be noted that, although these names are of Greek origin, none of them were written on their respective curses using the Greek alphabet, but were transliterated into the Latin alphabet.

⁶⁴⁰ CTNW 20 and 124 respectively. If the Latin interpretation of the Rom curse (CTNW 211) is correct then it may have involved two petitioners with Greek names, Eumolpus and Fotios. However, the translation and interpretation of this text is too debatable for firm conclusions.

⁶⁴¹ CTNW 19, 63, 133, 156.

⁶⁴² CTNW 268.

from places further east, but it is just as likely that they were from somewhere else, and were given Greek names by traders or owners, following a popular fashion in the Roman world.⁶⁴³

5.2.5: Legal Status

In general, legal status is the hardest category to determine on the curse tablets. As already mentioned, the majority of petitioners and victims were only identified by a *cognomen*, leaving uncertainties about their freedom and citizenship status.⁶⁴⁴ In my database, only five men, all victims, were identified by *tria nomina*,⁶⁴⁵ four of whom were on tablets dated to the first century (the exception being Tiberius Claudius Trevirus from fourth-century Trier). In addition to these, 43 individuals (of which 11 were women) were identified by *duo nomina*. Of the individuals with *duo nomina*, five were petitioners,⁶⁴⁶ with the rest being victims, or occasionally patrons, patronyms or matronyms. The *tria* and *duo nomina* come mostly from large settlements, such as London, Trier and Mainz, which perhaps indicates that citizenship was less prevalent outside these cities. However, any tablet written after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, including most of those from Bath and Uley and all of those from the Trier amphitheatre, was probably written by a Roman citizen, regardless of the naming conventions used. On top of this, scholars such as Cherry have claimed that some people who used Roman-style names may not have been full citizens, but people of other legal statuses usurping the *tria nomina*.⁶⁴⁷

There are several potential reasons for the small numbers of *tria* or *duo nomina* on the curse tablets. *Cognomina* were always considered the most personal names, and the

⁶⁴³ Joshel, 2010, pp. 94-95.

⁶⁴⁴ From at least the mid-first century the barriers between the personal nomenclature of the various legal and social classes were gradually broken down (Weaver, 1964, p. 315). It would therefore be impossible to determine whether any individual named on the curse tablets was a slave, for example, based solely on their *cognomen*.

⁶⁴⁵ CTNW 138 (London): Publius Cicereius Felix and Titus Egnatius Tyrannus; CTNW 205 (Chamalières): Gaius Lucius Florus Nigrinus; CTNW 237 (Trier): Tiberius Claudius Trevirus; CTNW 294 (Mainz): Publius Vinonius Primus; CTNW 307 (Mainz): Tiberius Claudius Adiutor.

⁶⁴⁶ Canus Dignus (CTNW 154); Martianus Armicus (CTNW 278); Minicius Campanus (CTNW 278); Mintla Rufus (CTNW 180); Severa Tertionica (CTNW 255).

⁶⁴⁷ Cherry, 1995, p. 145. According to Cherry, some of those with Roman-style names on epitaphs could have been informally or improperly manumitted slaves (Junian Latins), or foreigners ignoring the ban enacted by Claudius (Suet., *Claud.* 25.3).

ones by which it was easiest to identify an individual, whereas the full Roman name would only have been used in the most formal settings, when it was important to convey something of the status and position of the person being named. This was important in other contexts, such as, for example, monumental stone inscriptions intended for public display and the official financial and military records often found on Egyptian papyri. Curse tablets were neither official documents nor were they publicly displayed, and so it would have made little sense to use full citizen names. Mullen has also argued that at Bath and other sites in Roman Britain, Celtic *cognomina* were used alone because formal Roman names might have felt inappropriate in a conversation between Celts and their gods.⁶⁴⁸ While there might be some merit in this argument in certain contexts, it cannot be true at sites such as Mainz and possibly even Uley,⁶⁴⁹ where Celtic and Germanic *cognomina* were used in communication with Roman deities like Mercury and Mater Magna.

Other markers of legal status are present on some of the curse tablets. Certain individuals are specifically named as slaves or *liberti*, often placing them in wider networks of relationships with patrons or owners,⁶⁵⁰ and there is the potential of the Greek-named slaves that I have already discussed. This curse from Bath goes to the greatest lengths, cursing several men, their wives and their slaves:⁶⁵¹

*Pet(it)io ro(go) te Victoria vind[ex]... Manici Cunomolius Minervina u(x)or Cunitius
ser(v)us Senovara u(x)or Lavidendus ser(v)us Mattonius ser(v)us Catinius
Esxactoris fundo eo Methianus ... dono ... [ini]micus*

A petition. (I ask) you Victory (The Avenger?) ... Cunomolius (son) of Minicus, Minervina (his) wife, Cunitius (their) slave, Senovara (his) wife, Lavidendus (their) slave, Mattonius (their) slave, Catinius (son) of Exsactor... Methianus... I give... enemy

⁶⁴⁸ Mullen, 2007b, p. 47.

⁶⁴⁹ The cult objects, inscriptions and curses from Uley point to a dedication to a standard Roman cult of Mercury, with only one curse tablet (CTNW 172) showing any hint of syncretism with a local god, as discussed in Section 2.2.3.

⁶⁵⁰ Slaves: CTNW 61, 134, 274, 276; *liberti*: CTNW 237, 280, 301, 307, 311. More will be said about the significance of this in Section 5.3.1.

⁶⁵¹ CTNW 61.

The slaves on this curse, as well as the women identified as *uxor*, are marked out as having a status that is dependent on others, reinforcing their subordination to their owners and husbands. As in this case, almost all of the slaves are victims of the curses on which they are named, with one exception: the theft curses from Leicester, written by Servandus, and discussed in Section 4.3.7.⁶⁵²

deo Maglo (do) eum qui frudum fecit de pa(e)d(ag)o(g)io (do) eleum qui furtum (fecit) de pa(e)da(g)o(g)ium <sa(g)um> qui sa(g)um Servandi involavit. S[il]vester Ri(g)omandus S[e]nilis Venustinus Vorvena Calaminus Felicianus Rufedo Vendicina Ingenuinus Iuventius Alocus Cennosus Germanus Senedo Cunovendus Regalis Ni(g)ella S[enic]ianus (deleted). do ante nonum diem illum tollat qui sa(g)um involavit Servandi.

I give to the god Maglus him who did wrong from the slave-quarters; I give him who (did) theft <the cloak> from the slave-quarters; who stole the cloak of Servandus. Silvester, Ri(g)omandus, Senilis, Venustinus, Vorvena, Calaminus, Felicianus, Rufedo, Vendicina, Ingenuinus, Iuventius, Alocus, Cennosus, Germanus, Senedo, Cunovendus, Regalis, Ni(g)ella, Senicianus (deleted). I give (that the god Maglus) before the ninth day take away him who stole the cloak of Servandus.

Considering that the theft happened in the slave-quarters,⁶⁵³ it is likely that Servandus and his victims were all slaves. The curse was “neatly inscribed... by a practiced hand”,⁶⁵⁴ so Servandus may have received some training in writing, perhaps as an agent in the family business or a tutor for the children.⁶⁵⁵

Aside from the slaves, very few other victims were identified by their occupational, social or legal positions. Where this does occur it tends to be on juridical curses, which often differentiated between litigants, advocates, family members, witnesses, and

⁶⁵² CTNW 134.

⁶⁵³ *Paedagogium* is a rare word for slave-quarters, but does appear in Plin., *Ep.* 7.27.13.

⁶⁵⁴ Tomlin, 2008b, p. 207.

⁶⁵⁵ Literacy in the Roman provinces was discussed above in Section 3.2. For further discussions of literacy among slaves see Harris, 1989, pp. 255-259 and Woolf, 2009, p. 52.

occasionally other court officials.⁶⁵⁶ Two juridical curses also refer to victims by their occupations, naming Marcus the coppersmith (*aerarius*), Montanus the timber merchant (*materarius*), Lutumarus the butcher (*lanius*) and Publius the dyer (*offector*).⁶⁵⁷ These will be discussed further below.

5.2.6: Summary

Taken as a whole, what the names included on the curse tablets show is that there was no ideal user of magic in the Roman north-west.⁶⁵⁸ Curse tablet use was not the exclusive preserve of any particular social group, and seems to have cut across all of the boundaries of gender, ethnicity and legal status present in ancient society. Although there were more men than women represented on the tablets, at almost a quarter of both victims and petitioners the women were not an inconsequential group. As the female petitioners were mostly cursing thieves, this evidence shows them more aggressively pursuing property ownership than the Roman law codes would have us believe was possible. By analysing the language origins of the names it has been shown that, although there are more Latin than Celtic names overall, this picture is complicated by the presence of *Decknamen*. When chronology and find site are taken into account, sites with considerably more Latin than Celtic names tend to be large towns or militarised areas, such as Trier, London and Mainz.⁶⁵⁹ Most of the Celtic names come from third- or fourth-century Roman Britain, but what the later sites like Bath and Uley show is that naming practices along ethnic lines had become increasingly blurred, and that a mixed pool of Latin, Greek and Celtic names existed from which parents could choose with relative freedom. The parent-child relationships mentioned on the tablets show that the process of adopting Latin names in the provinces worked in many directions, and not as simply as the older theories of Romanisation might suggest. The question of legal status remains to

⁶⁵⁶ See above, Section 4.2.2, for examples.

⁶⁵⁷ Marcus is named on CTNW 267 and the others are on 271.

⁶⁵⁸ Something also noted by psychologists such as Vyse (1997) for superstitious people in the modern West.

⁶⁵⁹ Trier: 19 Latin, 3 Celtic, 1 Greek. London: 16 Latin, 3 Celtic, 1 Latin and Greek. Mainz: 32 Latin, 4 Celtic, 2 Germanic, 1 Latin and Germanic.

some extent unanswered, because of the unfortunate paucity of data. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to suggest that curse tablets were used by citizens and non-citizens, slaves and free people alike, and all these groups were certainly targeted as victims. The fact that most victims and petitioners were identified by only their *cognomina* gives the curses a more individual, personal tone, as will be discussed further in the next section.

5.3: Using Identity

As the previous section demonstrated, the evidence for identity presented by the curse tablets is very different from that which can be gleaned from other written sources such as epigraphy. The information is considerably more personal, with individuals being identified by just their *cognomina*, or occasionally a family connection. Although the data was examined in the distinct categories of gender, ethnicity and legal status, it bears remembering that in reality these three did not exist separately from each other, but instead were inextricably connected in the lives of individual human beings. In order to emphasise this, as well as to answer the call made by scholars such as Eckardt⁶⁶⁰ to move on from single-issue research to focus more on the interconnectedness of identities, the remainder of this study will not be divided by types of identity, but will instead focus on the ways in which individual petitioners used their own identity and the displayed identity of their victims in composing their curses. I will argue that curse tablets can make significant contributions to our understanding of identity in the north-west provinces because they provide evidence not just for the display of identity, but also for its reception.

5.3.1: Identifying victims

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there were two methods by which victims could be identified on curse tablets: either by direct naming or by using formulas such as “whether man or woman.”⁶⁶¹ Of the two, direct naming was the more common, as rumours, gossip,

⁶⁶⁰ Eckardt, 2014, p. 6.

⁶⁶¹ See above, Section 4.3.7.

fear and suspicion often gave petitioners an idea of the people who had caused the misfortunes that beset them. Directly naming the victims seems to also have been considered more powerful, as the treatment of names in some cursing formulas attests. Names seem to have directly represented the victims themselves, hence the appearance of phrases such as “I give the names”⁶⁶² and “kill these names”.⁶⁶³ Naming their victims was so important to many petitioners that they were the only thing they wrote on the tablet, making them the only part of the ritual that could be manipulated by nailing, folding or depositing, as well as the only permanent reminder that the curse had been placed. The intimate connection between tablet and victim created by naming is well demonstrated by CTNW 62 (Bath):

*[d]eae Sulis donau[i] [arge]nteolos sex quos per[didi] a nomin[i]bus infrascriptis/
deae exact<io> est Senicianus et Saturninus et Ann[i]ola carta picta persc[ritpa]//
An<n>[i]ola Senicianus Saturninus.*

I have given to the goddess Sulis the six silver coins which I have lost. It is for the goddess to exact (them) from the names written below: Senicianus and Saturninus and Anniola. The written page (has) been copied out. Anniola, Senicianus, Saturninus.

On this tablet, the victims' names are the targets of both the wrath of the goddess and the physical manipulation performed as part of the cursing ritual. First, Sulis was exhorted to extract the stolen coins “from the names” (*a nominibus*) of three victims, which stand for the victims themselves. Then the names were inscribed on the tablet, in two different orders on the front and the back so that both instances of Anniola's name would be hit by the nail that was subsequently driven through the tablet (Figure 21).

Most victims were identified simply by their *cognomen*. As already discussed, this was the most personal name, and the one that was most appropriate to use in the context of cursing. It was also the name by which most individuals would have been known to

⁶⁶² For example CTNW 130 (Hamble Estuary): *dono nomina*.

⁶⁶³ For example CTNW 271 (Bad Kreuznach): *neca illa nomina*.

those around them, and was therefore the most intimate name for each individual. By using it alone it could be argued that the petitioners were stripping their victims of all status markers granted by any more complex naming conventions. By using only *cognomina* the petitioners were also rejecting any formalities demanded by unequal social statuses, bringing each victim down to the same level, and placing them all equally at the mercy of the power the of the curse.⁶⁶⁴

When further identification was deemed necessary, the most common method was by reference to a parent, usually the father.⁶⁶⁵ This was predominantly done in the standard Roman way, by either putting the father's name in the genitive or by using some form of the word *filius*.⁶⁶⁶ Patronymics were probably the only additional name by which Celtic and Germanic people would have been known, both before and after the Roman conquest, so it is not too surprising that they are found on curses from across the study area.⁶⁶⁷ However, these formulations of filiation are different to pre-Roman naming traditions, which usually formed patronymic adjectives with specific suffixes.⁶⁶⁸ Even patronymics of Celtic names are formulated in these Roman ways on the curse tablets, showing that the influence of Roman naming traditions must have been particularly strong. Pre-Roman patronymic formulations are only found on the late-first-century Celtic curse from Larzac, which perhaps suggests that the older traditions lasted longer in certain communities.⁶⁶⁹

Women were occasionally identified as *uxor* (wife), usually when their husbands were also named, which gives the impression that they were only secondary victims, and that the husbands were the main targets.⁶⁷⁰ It also reinforces the presumption that women were dependent on their husbands for their identity, effectively putting them in a

⁶⁶⁴ On the non-reciprocal forms of address between those of different social status in the Roman world see Adams, 1978.

⁶⁶⁵ This is another place where the curses from the north-west differ from the Greek magical traditions, which often identified the victim using their mother's name (Ogden, 1999, p. 61).

⁶⁶⁶ Filiation was used on 23 tablets – CTNW: 11, 55, 61, 92, 128, 142, 149, 157, 162, 189, 193, 206, 214, 218, 224, 235, 240, 244, 255, 264, 286, 300, 303.

⁶⁶⁷ Mullen, 2007b, p. 40; Meißner, 2012, pp. 181, 186.

⁶⁶⁸ Stüber, 2007, pp. 83-4.

⁶⁶⁹ CTNW 255.

⁶⁷⁰ *Uxor* – CTNW: 11, 55, 61, 149, 267.

subordinate social position. Alongside the wives, some more distant relationships were sometimes mentioned.⁶⁷¹ As well as giving more detailed identification, adding these relationships situated the victim within their social contexts, as members of wider family groups. This might have had the effect of not only more accurately identifying the victim but also spreading the curse outwards onto parents, husbands and children who might now suffer for the wrongdoing of their relatives. This is certainly an important characteristic of sorcery in Sri Lanka, and this has an effect on the form of magical attacks performed there.⁶⁷² Several of the confession *stela*e from Asia Minor also show that people could suffer from the wrong-doing of their relatives, and were anxious to appease the gods so that they could be freed from the illnesses or misfortunes that had been transferred onto them by association with the guilty party.⁶⁷³

Apart from filiation, other markers of identification were rarely used, unlike on lapidary inscriptions where they are very common. Almost all of the stone votive inscriptions from Bath and Mainz, for example, identify those who erected them by ethnic origin, legal status or profession.⁶⁷⁴ In contrast, very few of the curses from either site used similar markers of identity. The only curse tablet from the entire study area that states the ethnic origin of the victim is from fourth-century Trier:⁶⁷⁵

*Tib(erium) Claudium Trev(i)rum natione Germanum lib(ertum) Claudii Similis rogo
te dom(i)na Isis ut ill(i) profluvi(um) mittas et quidquid in bonis habet in morbum
megarum*

(I curse) Tiberius Claudius Trevirus, a German and the freedman of Claudius Similis. I ask you, lady Isis, thus you send him flowing, and whatever he has in goods, in sickness in the Megaron.

⁶⁷¹ *Nepos* (grandson) – CTNW 240; *frater* (brother) – CTNW 11; *noverca* (stepmother) – CTNW 303. Mees (2009, p. 55ff.) suggests that the Celtic word *dona* found on the Larzac tablet (CTNW 255) could be translated as foster-daughter, but this is not a conclusion shared by Lambert (see *RIG* 2.2 L-98).

⁶⁷² Kapferer, 1997, p. 45. This was discussed in more detail in Section 4.3.7.

⁶⁷³ Chaniotis, 2004, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁷⁴ See Cunliffe and Davenport (1985, p. 130) for the Bath inscriptions, and Witteyer (2003, pp. 15-21) for those from Mainz.

⁶⁷⁵ CTNW 237, exact context unknown.

The way the victim of this curse is identified is very formal, using forms and containing information much more typical of public inscriptions than curse tablets. His full *tria nomina* are given, along with his status as a freedman and the name of his patron. He is identified as being a German, and therefore probably originally came from beyond the frontiers, despite the indication from his *cognomen* that he had some connection to Trier, the city of the Treveri tribe. It is possible that Trevirus had prominently displayed his status and identity in some way, perhaps on a monumental inscription as was not untypical for wealthy freedmen,⁶⁷⁶ and that the petitioner was using this to provide exceptionally accurate targeting information for their curse. In any case, it would seem that the petitioner was not nearly as familiar with the victim as most other petitioners, who used *cognomina* alone.

As well as ethnic origin, other common markers of identity in epigraphy were also only very infrequently used on curse tablets. Military rank only appears on one tablet from Mainz,⁶⁷⁷ and no victims or petitioners, apart from the few slaves and *liberti*, are identified by legal status, social rank, elected magistracies or other official positions. Certain individuals are identified as advocates on juridical curses, and four other professions are listed, also on juridical curses, presumably because they were relevant to the legal proceedings.⁶⁷⁸ On the Celtic-language curse from Chamalières,⁶⁷⁹ also motivated by a legal trial, two of the victims are designated as *pelignon*, translated by both Lambert and Mees as ‘stranger’.⁶⁸⁰ What this means exactly is unclear, but the two men could have been from outside the Empire, or perhaps simply unfamiliar to the local community. Apart from these few exceptional cases, all the other victims were stripped of most of their public identity. Without references to their ethnic affiliations, high social rank, career successes or positions of privilege, the victims were envisioned as relatively equal. Regardless of their background they were all uniformly exposed to the aggressive powers of the curses, and would all receive the same divine punishment regardless of social

⁶⁷⁶ Although none bearing his name have been found.

⁶⁷⁷ CTNW 278.

⁶⁷⁸ CTNW: 267 Marcus the coppersmith (*aerarius*); CTNW 271 Montanus the timber merchant (*materiaris*), Lutumarus the butcher (*lanius*) and Publius the dyer (*offector*).

⁶⁷⁹ CTNW 205.

⁶⁸⁰ For bibliography see the entry in Appendix 1.

status, unlike in the human justice system of the time. The only exceptions to this are the slaves and *liberti*, whose status would have afforded them no protection from the most severe punishments under the justice system. By using these markers of identity for their servile victims, especially where they also name their owners or patrons, I argue that the petitioners were picking up on and strengthening an identity of domination and control that had been forced onto them by others.

If identity is, as scholars have argued, the communication of the individual to other people, then the almost total rejection of common identity markers by curse petitioners, other than names, could be seen as a strategy for isolating their victims, making them a single, helpless target in the face of supernatural power harnessed to cause them harm. This could apply to the 36 curses that name only individual victims, but what of the others that name two or more? This question will be answered in more detail in the discussion about power and agency,⁶⁸¹ but a few comments are relevant at this point. The naming of any number of victims was an act of identification, and set them up, in no uncertain terms, as enemies of the petitioner. As discussed in the previous chapter, this could have been a confirmation of social tensions that already existed, or the beginning of an entirely new rivalry sparked by some recent occurrence. In either case, if, as scholars have argued, the identification of 'others' is an important step in the construction of self and group identity,⁶⁸² it could be argued that curse tablets played an active role in this by giving the petitioners an opportunity to group together those individuals they perceived as enemies.

On north-western curse tablets, directly naming victims was most common on juridical curses or those dealing with the theft of money. Also the erotic curses, such as they are in this region, all directly name their victims. For other motives, especially the various other theft motives, non-specific formulas were often used so that the victims would not escape punishment regardless of who they were. There is a certain amount of social equality implicit in these, especially the mutually exclusive alternatives that were popular in Roman Britain. It would seem that there was no firm idea of a typical thief, and

⁶⁸¹ Section 5.4.3.

⁶⁸² Jones, 1997, p. xiii; 2007, p. 51; Eckardt, 2014, pp. 5-6.

that victims of crime did not immediately assume that one particular class of person would be responsible. Anyone could be a suspect, regardless of gender (*si vir si femina*)⁶⁸³ and/or age (*si puer si puella*)⁶⁸⁴ and legal status (*si servus si liber*).⁶⁸⁵ Some petitioners went further than these standard formulas, targeting their suspects regardless of religion (*seu gen(tili)s seu christianus*)⁶⁸⁶ or military service (*si paganus si miles*).⁶⁸⁷ Interestingly, none of the curses include mutually exclusive alternatives based on ethnicity, which again calls into question the importance of ethnic identity in the context of cursing. This fact also shows how important curse tablets can be as a source of evidence for identity in the Roman north-west. Despite the almost myopic focus on displays of ethnic identity among scholars, the curse tablets would seem to suggest that ethnic identity was not always particularly important to people in the past. At the very least, it seems that ethnicity was not something that immediately jumped to mind when imagining a thief, and it was gender, age and legal status that were more important factors when thinking about how best to cast a curse wide enough to hit all possible culprits.

These formulas are standard and repetitive, which gives the illusion that there was little individual choice in their selection. Recent work on votive offerings and other religious rituals has shown that this is probably inaccurate,⁶⁸⁸ as in even the most formulaic, conservative ritual there was scope for individual creativity, and every formula, action and prayer was the conscious choice of the individual worshipper, priest or petitioner. The curse tablets show this in action, because, although the whole formula of *si vir si femina si servus si liber* appears on several British curses, many individuals chose to deviate from

⁶⁸³ On 31 examples (with variation in exact wording): CTNW 2, 19, 45, 49, 51, 53, 57, 60, 63, 70, 71, 75, 78, 84, 89, 102, 119, 120, 123, 129, 130, 132, 153, 154, 171, 172, 173, 180, 182, 195, 196.

⁶⁸⁴ On 16 examples (with variation in exact wording): CTNW 19, 38, 49, 63, 74, 75, 89, 123, 129, 130, 139, 158, 163, 173, 176, 196.

⁶⁸⁵ On 36 examples (with variation in exact wording): CTNW 15, 19, 20, 35, 38, 44, 45, 49, 51, 53, 54, 57, 59, 60, 70, 71, 73, 74, 78, 79, 84, 86, 88, 89, 102, 119, 120, 121, 129, 139, 160, 172, 173, 182, 195, 196.

⁶⁸⁶ CTNW 19. Interestingly, the use of the word *gentilis* to denote a non-Christian was common among Christians from at least the second century, but not among non-Christians themselves, being a translation of ἔθνη, a term used by Jews to refer to non-Jews. Tomlin (1988b, p. 233) suggests that it would be unwise to conclude that the petitioner was a Christian, as the usage is formulaic here. For more on these and other related terms see Cameron, 2010, p. 14ff.

⁶⁸⁷ CTNW 121. Also CTNW 196, an unpublished text from Uley.

⁶⁸⁸ Muñiz Grijalvo, 2013; Woolf, 2013.

the standard, switching the order of the words or altering them subtly.⁶⁸⁹ This demonstrates that the inclusion of mutually exclusive alternatives was a conscious attempt by the petitioner to identify their victims, using the markers of identity that would best help the deities to target the correct person and telling us which social categories mattered in that society and period.

5.3.2: *Identifying petitioners*

The information we have about the curse petitioners is frustratingly ambiguous. On the one hand, the tablets record only their angry, vitriolic cries, and give away nothing about the victim's side of the story; in the words of Eidinow, "working with curse tablets is like straining to catch a myriad of one-sided, slanderous conversations, whispered across thousands of years."⁶⁹⁰ On the other hand, although the petitioners might have gone to great lengths to identify their victims – using long lists of potential suspects or exhaustive formulas that could encompass the entire human race – they barely ever identified themselves by name. Only 68 petitioners were named on curses from the study area, with the vast majority of tablets being anonymous. Scholars have suggested various reasons for this, such as that it was a precaution against the curse backfiring, or protection against any retribution that could follow the curse being discovered.⁶⁹¹ The anonymity of cursing certainly seems to distinguish it from other forms of Roman religious ritual, which are very much concerned with recording the presence of worshippers at performances and dedications, thereby defining the place of the individual within their religious and secular communities.⁶⁹² It is likely that the secretive nature of cursing rituals at many of the sites in the north-west made this recording function irrelevant. As the tablets were not publicly displayed there was little need to include the petitioner's name, and presumably the gods, having witnessed the ritual, would know who had performed the curse regardless of whether their name was written down or not.

⁶⁸⁹ I have discussed this in more detail elsewhere, see McKie, 2016, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁹⁰ Eidinow, 2007a, p. 229.

⁶⁹¹ Ogden, 1999, p. 18.

⁶⁹² Beard, 1991, pp. 46-47; Woolf, 2013, p. 153.

Another distinction between cursing and other forms of religious expression could be the reason for the difference in the display of identity. As Kapferer has pointed out with reference to cursing in Sri Lanka, people are “flung” to sorcery rituals by exceptional circumstances in their everyday lives, rather than going willingly as part of normal religious practice.⁶⁹³ This decentres them from their worlds, and creates “homogenous communities of suffering”⁶⁹⁴ at the main sorcery shrines on the island, made from a mixing of people of all classes, genders and social backgrounds. I would argue that the curses from the Roman north-west reveal a similar situation, especially at the temple sites of Bath, Mainz and Uley, where a whole range of people from a variety of backgrounds were united by their circumstances of distress. Complex social identities mattered little in these situations, as they clearly had little to contribute to the success of the curses. What really mattered was the correct performance of the ritual, and this could be achieved by anyone who had the appropriate knowledge and understanding, regardless of their background.

The curses might be predominantly anonymous, but nevertheless they give away something of the identity of the petitioners. Specifically, the style and form of the language used can be particularly helpful for attempting to glean more information from the curses. Language has often been recognised as a primary symbol of identity.⁶⁹⁵ Communication is essential for the continued existence of any group identity, and changes in the dominant language used for such communication can be indicative of changes in the identity of group members.⁶⁹⁶ Throughout human history, languages have been intimately tied to ethnic identities, and certain groups have expended great effort to preserve old languages in the face of a new *lingua franca*.⁶⁹⁷ However, the situation in the Roman north-west is almost unparalleled in the pre-modern history of imperial expansion, in that it was the native languages that were replaced by that of the conquerors.⁶⁹⁸ Why this should be the case is still a matter of debate among scholars, but it is evident that complex social

⁶⁹³ Kapferer, 1997, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁹⁴ Kapferer, 1997, p. 245.

⁶⁹⁵ For example Mullen, 2007b, p. 35; Wallace-Hadrill, 2008, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁹⁶ Derks and Roymans, 2009b, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁷ Derks and Roymans, 2009b, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁸ Usually it is the other way around, like, for example, with French in England after the Norman conquest (A. Woolf, 1998, p. 120).

processes were involved. Before the conquest, the Celtic family of languages dominated north-western Europe. Three languages, one each in Gaul, Britain and Ireland, have been proposed by linguists, with small variations on local scales, and probably some mixing with Germanic and Iberian in border areas.⁶⁹⁹

As a wealth of evidence, including the curse tablets, shows, local languages were still spoken after the Roman conquest, but, as they had very little written culture, almost all texts produced in the north-western provinces were written in Latin. Latin was also the official language of the Roman state,⁷⁰⁰ and so interactions with the authorities would have required a degree of Latin proficiency on the part of local people.⁷⁰¹ As has already been discussed, the evidence of the curse tablets is forcing a rethink of the levels of literacy in the provinces among scholars, and the field is moving away from considering the skills of reading and writing as preserves of the elite.⁷⁰² Nevertheless, there would never have been total Latin literacy among people in the north-west, so I would argue that it is still valid to consider the command of the Latin language as “a prestige good”,⁷⁰³ something that individuals would have been proud to display given the opportunity. The curse tablets show a great deal of variation in the literacy skill levels of the petitioners, from rough, careless hands to confident, practiced scripts (compare the two curses in Figure 26).⁷⁰⁴ Those tablets that display practiced hands were likely to have been written by someone with some level of education or training. This did not necessarily come from a formal school setting, but could have been obtained working as a stonemason, metal worker or bookkeeper.⁷⁰⁵ In any case, this training would have required an investment of time and money, and therefore carried with it a certain power and prestige that would have influenced the individual's self-image. The ability to write in Latin gave a person an advantage over those who could not, and, in terms of the ability to write a curse tablet,

⁶⁹⁹ Summarised by Creighton (2000, pp. 250-251).

⁷⁰⁰ Wallace-Hadrill (2008, p. 65) calls Latin “the language of imperial domination.”

⁷⁰¹ On bilingualism in the Graeco-Roman world see Adams, 2003; 2007; Mullen and James, 2012.

⁷⁰² See above, Section 3.2.

⁷⁰³ Creighton, 2000, pp. 158-160.

⁷⁰⁴ This is another place where curse tablets differ from lapidary inscriptions, which were created by professional stonemasons, and therefore do not tell us whether the dedicants were literate.

⁷⁰⁵ Bowman and Woolf, 1994, pp. 5-6.

opened up the possibility of turning supernatural power against anyone around them.⁷⁰⁶ I would argue that Servandus, the slave who cursed the other slaves he lived with in Leicester, was doing just this.⁷⁰⁷ His writing skills gave him the ability to perform the ritual of cursing, and therefore also gave him access to power unavailable to other, illiterate slaves.⁷⁰⁸

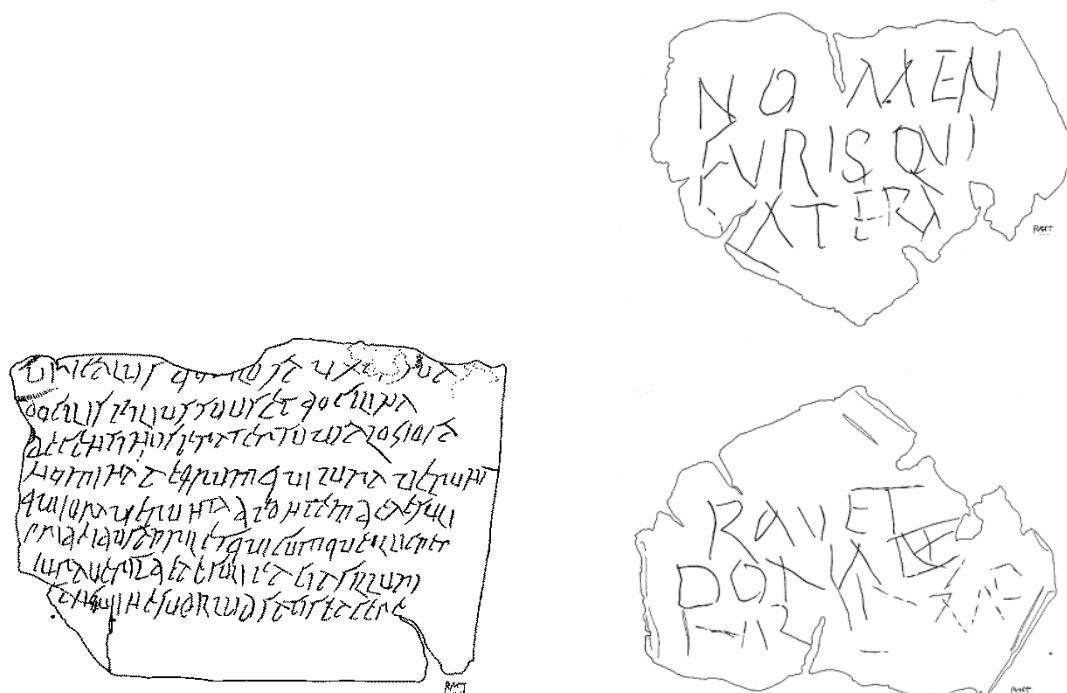


Figure 26: CTNW 11 and 58 (Bath). Tomlin, 1988b, pp. 226, 131, figures *Tab. Sulis* 94 and 16.

Not all of the curse tablets from the north-western provinces were written in Latin, and around 20 petitioners chose to communicate their curse to the gods using their native, Celtic language.⁷⁰⁹ Two of these texts, the ones from Chamalières and Larzac,⁷¹⁰ are among the longest texts that survive in these languages, and have therefore been highly

⁷⁰⁶ On the relationship between writing and power see Moreland, 2001; 2006.

⁷⁰⁷ CTNW 134.

⁷⁰⁸ This is not to privilege the power of the written word over ritual actions, the importance of which was demonstrated in throughout Chapter 3. It should be remembered that the act of writing was a ritual action in itself, and that is the sense in which I am discussing it here.

⁷⁰⁹ CTNW 12, 56, 126, 165, 205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 242, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255.

⁷¹⁰ CTNW 205 and 255.

significant pieces of evidence for linguists.⁷¹¹ For the purposes of this study, the specific linguistic details are not as important as the reasons why the petitioners chose to write their curse in Celtic, rather than Latin. At first thought it would seem to suggest that they could not write Latin, but in fact the reverse is probably true. All of the Celtic curses use the Latin alphabet – out of necessity, as there was no distinct Celtic alphabet – and so the petitioners must have had some familiarity with writing in the Latin alphabet. Writing in Celtic must, therefore, have required a conscious rejection of the possibility of writing in Latin, even though they could have conceivably done so. Scholars have argued that these texts could be interpreted as individuals consciously marking out their own Celtic identity, especially as they were in communication with Celtic deities.⁷¹² I would add to this argument the significant fact that none of the Celtic curses appear to use translations of the stock formulas commonly found in their Latin counterparts. It seems that the cursing process was independent of the actual language used, and that it was possible to use a more Celtic approach if desired.⁷¹³

Much like with their victims, where the petitioners did include their own names, they predominantly wrote only a *cognomen*, with only four instances of more detail being added.⁷¹⁴ The reasons for the lack of formal naming conventions among petitioners are likely to be similar to those that caused them to leave them off for their victims. In a text that was not intended for display or official use it would have made little sense to include full titles. The performance of the cursing ritual, especially in locations like the deposition gallery at Bath or the space behind the *cella* of Mater Magna in Mainz, was an intimate moment of direct contact between the petitioner and the deity, and I would argue that this is displayed, whether consciously or not, in the use of the *cognomen*: an individual's most intimate, personal name.

⁷¹¹ For bibliographies on the Celtic texts see their entries in Appendix 1 and *RIG*.

⁷¹² Mullen (2007a, p. 42) suggests that the petitioners who wrote in Celtic at Bath were travellers from the continent who were demonstrating a specifically Gallic identity. Unfortunately, scholarly understandings of the distinctions between Insular and Continental Celtic languages are not refined enough for a firm conclusion.

⁷¹³ For a discussion of the 'Celtic-ness' of these curses, and potential connections to later, medieval Celtic culture see Mees, 2009.

⁷¹⁴ There are two patronymics (CTNW 60 and 184), one matronymic (CTNW 19) and one petitioner who identified herself specifically as a woman (*Saturnina muliere*: CTNW 172).

5.3.3: *Summary: cursing and identity*

What do curse tablets tell us about identity in the north-western provinces? The information they give is very different from lapidary inscriptions, and at first glance may look considerably poorer than that which can be gleaned from epitaphs and dedications. It is true that curses have very little to contribute to scholarly understanding of issues such as the spread of citizenship or the development of formal Roman naming conventions in the north-west, but they nevertheless provide insights into other aspects of identity that cannot be read elsewhere. Curses were seen as a direct line of communication from the petitioner to the gods with little mediation by other humans and with no requirement for public display. Because of this, the identities that the petitioners displayed on their curses were much more intimate and personal than those usually inscribed on stone monuments, without mention of social positions or career successes, and with only occasional connections to family members. All of these identities were stripped back, as the petitioners presented themselves humbly before the supernatural powers they were addressing. By appealing to the gods in this way, the petitioners were identifying their place in wider social networks, involving both divine and mortal participants, and taking active steps to change them for their own benefit. To achieve this they also had to identify their victims, and they mostly did this by directly naming them. The names they used were also the most intimate and personal ones, partly because of the secret, private nature of the ritual, but also possibly to strip them of higher status and make them appear humble before the power of the curse. Naming the victims firmly fixed them to the cursing ritual, and created a physical link between the lead tablet, on which their name was now inscribed, and their physical body as it existed in the real world. This link was then abused, sending pain, misfortune or whatever other punishment that the petitioner had in mind to the victim themselves. This reveals a darker side to identity that has been relatively neglected in its application to the study of the Roman world. Identity can be spoiled, abused and deconstructed by others, who do not just passively perceive it, but

actively construct it.⁷¹⁵ Individuals can never ensure that others will correctly receive or interpret their identities, and the curse petitioners appear to have often used their victim's identities in ways that the victims themselves would presumably not have wished.

5.4: Cursing and Power

In this section I will move on from the displays and uses of identity on the curse tablets to look at how the evidence they contain can be used to examine how cursing helped the petitioners to situate themselves in their social contexts, and to have an active role in how these contexts were configured and realised. To do so, I will be discussing the power that cursing gave to individuals, and how that power influenced, and was influenced by, existing power structures and relations in the north-western Roman provinces. In this I will once again be drawing upon work carried out by anthropologists and ethnographers to aid in the interpretation of the ancient evidence, as well as critically assessing scholarship from other areas of archaeology and ancient history.

Power is a difficult concept to define, and many of the academic debates surrounding its nature are not applicable to the current study, especially those concerning the development, uses and abuses of political power. For the purposes of this discussion, I define power as intimately connected to agency, following the definition of power given by Giddens. According to him, power is “the means of getting things done and, as such, is directly implied in human action.”⁷¹⁶ In this way I am following a common distinction between ‘power to’ – the basic ability to do something oneself, and ‘power over’ – the ability to affect what someone else does.⁷¹⁷ These two are inter-related but distinct concepts, and it is the former definition that I will be referring to throughout this chapter.

Agency is another loaded and contested term, one which has been variously defined and applied by archaeologists over the last few decades, ultimately stemming

⁷¹⁵ Jenkins, 2004, pp. 72-73.

⁷¹⁶ Giddens, 1984, p. 283.

⁷¹⁷ Dowding, 1996, pp. 4-5; Gardner, 2007, p. 5.

from the work of Giddens and Bourdieu in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷¹⁸ Once again, it is not within the scope of the present study to offer a detailed synopsis of all the scholarship that surrounds these debates, but it is still necessary to provide a brief summary so that my arguments can be properly set into their contexts within the field. The basic premise of the theoretical models proposed and developed by Giddens, Bourdieu and their followers is that human action and social structures are inseparably connected, as they simultaneously constrain, enable and construct each other.⁷¹⁹ Human actors are not considered as mindless automata, but make decisions and act based on their understanding, knowledge, skills and experience of life in their own particular contexts. It follows, then, that agency is not simply synonymous with action, but is a socially significant quality of action, in that it depends on the social structures in which the action is embedded, while at the same time having an effect on those same structures.⁷²⁰ Although they are rarely considered in these debates, magical practices are excellent examples of this, as they involve thinking, feeling human actors taking positive steps to actively change the circumstances of their lived existence. This section will show how curse tablets can be considered one of the most significant categories of evidence for individual agency and power in the Roman provinces.

5.4.1: Power in the anthropology of magic

The question of power has regularly surfaced in the study of magical practices by anthropologists over the last century. Evans-Pritchard's distinction between Azande witches and sorcerers was based on the sources of their power: innate and psychic for the former, grounded in knowledge and materials for the latter.⁷²¹ Other scholars have shown

⁷¹⁸ The foundational texts by these two are Bourdieu, 1977 and Giddens, 1984. The scholarship that has followed them is vast, but the ways in which it connects to this study are outlined below.

⁷¹⁹ The scholarship that defines, debates and criticises these theoretical models within the social sciences is vast. However, it has been summarised and applied to archaeology by, among others, Dobres and Robb, 2000; Dornan, 2002; Gardner, 2007.

⁷²⁰ Dobres and Robb, 2000, p. 8.

⁷²¹ Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 387, also see above, Section 4.3.4.

how magical power can be used by already powerful people to assert their authority,⁷²² or by their subordinates to undermine the power of those above them.⁷²³ Magic is often important in family relations, especially issues of inheritance and succession, as these matters are often expected to be solved internally, without recourse to formal justice systems.⁷²⁴ Ultimately what all of this demonstrates is that magical power can be an important facet of the ongoing relationships between people within a community. Access to and use of magical power allows individuals to construct, change and maintain relationships with the people around them, and also with larger social structures. Kapferer has argued that this is the case in Sri Lanka, by showing how sorcery shrines can be seen as sites of class struggle, where the urban poor can rage against the persons who express controlling power over them, and equally where members of the dominant classes can express their anxiety about the frailty of their own positions.⁷²⁵ Generations of anthropologists have noted how magical beliefs and practices among the people they study have changed over time, reacting to the influences of European imperialism, independence movements and modern globalised culture.⁷²⁶ Magic and power are intimately linked then, not only in terms of granting power to individuals, but also in terms of methods of articulating and negotiating human power structures. This is the very basis of Douglas' grid and group model that was discussed in Section 4.3.4, which demonstrates the links between social structures and the forms of the actions of those whose lives are constrained, enabled and constructed by them.

It is worth repeating here the caveats introduced in Section 4.3.4 regarding the application of anthropological scholarship onto evidence from the ancient world. It is neither possible nor desirable to make direct comparisons between social and historical contexts separated by wide gulfs of space and time, and that is certainly not my intention here. To do so would in fact directly contradict the contextual, embedded argument I have been making throughout this study, which has shown how beliefs and practices are the

⁷²² For example the leopard skin priests among the Nuer in South Sudan, see Mair, 1969, pp. 13-14.

⁷²³ In Sri Lanka: Kapferer, 1997, pp. 255-256.

⁷²⁴ Marwick, 1965, p. 3; Kapferer, 1997, pp. 40-41.

⁷²⁵ Kapferer, 1997, pp. 255-256.

⁷²⁶ Marwick, 1965, p. 97; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993; Stewart and Strathern, 2004, pp. 64-66.

products of the social and physical contexts in which they were performed. However, with careful thought and a critical approach, much can be gained by using anthropological and ethnographic findings to think about the ancient evidence in new ways. The differences between the nature of archaeological and anthropological evidence is the biggest barrier to this kind of analysis. Anthropologists conduct interviews with their subjects, observing and recording behaviour that would be impossible for archaeologists to obtain from studying the material remains of the past. In terms of the study of magical beliefs and practices, anthropologists tend to study the accusations of such actions made by people who are categorically not practitioners themselves. This stems from the taboos surrounding magical practices in many traditional societies, which make people reluctant to admit that they have engaged in them. In contrast, scholars of ancient magic must start with the surviving material remains of the practices themselves, as I have done with the curse tablets collected for this study. This can give us a rich understanding of ritual practices (or at least their end products), but has tended to leave unanswered many of the questions about how such practices fit into the social contexts in which they were performed. I argue that, by using the work of anthropologists and archaeologists together to guide our thinking, answers to these questions can be suggested.

5.4.2: Structures of power in the Roman provinces

As with many other societies across human history, the official power structures of the Roman imperial system were constructed and subsequently dominated by a particular set of people, namely free, wealthy, adult males.⁷²⁷ The structures were overlapping, especially the political and religious systems, as many urban priesthoods were integrated into the career progression of wealthy men, and used as outlets for displays of generosity. This was as true in the provinces as in the city of Rome itself, as members of local elites became priests of the imperial cult or paid for monumental temples.⁷²⁸ As a result of these power structures, scholars have argued that Roman society, in both the centre and at the

⁷²⁷ Revell, 2009, p. 152.

⁷²⁸ Gordon, 1990, pp. 224-231; G. Woolf, 1998, p. 215ff.

periphery, made the experiences of free, wealthy, adult males normative, and denigrated the lived experiences of others, including women, children, slaves and the poor.⁷²⁹ Power, in terms of the capacity for individual agency and control, was unequally distributed, being predominantly concentrated in the hands of free, wealthy, adult males, at the expense of others. The study of these inequalities of power in the Roman world has fallen out of favour in recent years, but there have been calls, particularly from Mattingly and Gardner, to begin factoring them back into our understanding of the lived experience of provincial society.⁷³⁰

In the cities of the Roman provinces, the official, public approaches to the gods were controlled by free, wealthy, adult males, in their capacity as priestly mediators between the gods and mankind.⁷³¹ It was these men who funded the construction of temples in towns across Britain, Gaul and Germany, as attested by the many dedicatory inscriptions erected to commemorate the occasions, and they who conducted the central rituals of animal sacrifice in these places. The erection of private votive dedications, which has been the focus of much scholarly attention over the years,⁷³² was often an arena for displays of prestige and wealth as much as a form of religious worship, with wealthy individuals erecting larger monuments or using exotic materials so that their offering would stand out from smaller, less expensive examples.⁷³³ Cursing rituals in the north-west could be seen as a reaction against this situation, as they offered the petitioners a direct line of communication to the gods that circumvented the power structures erected by the elite. Very little money was required for a person to access the cursing rituals,⁷³⁴ and from the surviving evidence there seems to be no difference between a 'rich' curse tablet and a 'poor' one. This is particularly pertinent in the temple sites of Bath, Uley and Mainz, but is arguably applicable to other contexts as well, such as graveyards, amphitheatres and

⁷²⁹ Revell, 2009, p. 152.

⁷³⁰ Mattingly, 2004; Gardner, 2013, p. 10.

⁷³¹ Some scholars have argued that the situation was relatively similar before the Roman conquest too, with elites and priests such as the druids in control of whatever public religious system might have existed, see Creighton, 2000, p. 161.

⁷³² See, for example, Derks, 1991; 1995.

⁷³³ Derks, 1998, pp. 231-232.

⁷³⁴ As discussed in Section 3.1, lead was a common and cheap material in the north-western provinces. At Bath the smallest amount of money reported stolen was two silver coins (*argentoili* – CTNW 92), so it is likely that the whole ritual cost no more than this.

watery places.⁷³⁵ Cursing rituals gave relatively powerless groups of people, including the women, slaves and non-citizens discussed in the first part of this chapter, direct access to supernatural power that they could direct wherever they saw fit.⁷³⁶ This also helped them to overcome other inequalities of power in their daily lives, particularly with regard to the legal system, which was heavily biased towards wealthy male interests.⁷³⁷ The fact that most petitioners used only *cognomina* for themselves and their victims is surely significant here, as in doing so they suppressed any inequality between the two sides by removing titles, statuses and ethnic connections.

At this point it is necessary to ask the question of where exactly the power of cursing rituals came from. The systems and structures of divine power were just as regulated as those of human power, and it was important in all religious rituals for worshippers to correctly locate themselves within them. The tablets are not consistent in this matter, with individual petitioners appealing to and making use of different sources of power depending on various factors. At the temple sites it would be natural to assume that the power of the curses came from the deities to whom the petitioners appealed, and this is certainly the case for most (but not all) of them. On a large number of the temple curses the resident gods or goddesses received the victims or stolen objects into their power, or were asked to influence the victim in some way. There was a certain amount of respect in some of these addresses, as petitioners used flattering titles for the deities.⁷³⁸ This respect shows that the petitioners recognised that they were in an inferior position relative to the gods, and that it was only with the gods' consent that their intentions would be fulfilled.⁷³⁹ Theft curses were most concerned with maintaining good relations with the gods in these ways, and these were the curses that were mostly deposited in temples dedicated to recognised, non-chthonic gods such as Sulis Minerva, Mercury and Mater Magna. It is possible that the sense of these places as locations for respectful communications with

⁷³⁵ See Chapter 2 for the relative importance and meaning of different depositional contexts.

⁷³⁶ The low cost of the ritual could have been attractive to these marginalised groups, meaning that they could access it regardless of their personal wealth.

⁷³⁷ As discussed in Section 4.2.1. See also Kelly, 1966, pp. 43-68; Garnsey, 1970, pp. 216-217.

⁷³⁸ CTNW 60 (Bath): *deae sanctissim(a)e Suli*; CTNW 173 (Uley): *deo sancto Mercurio*; CTNW 264 (Groß-Gerau): *deum max<s>ime Atthis Tyranne*.

⁷³⁹ Other scholars have noted that this was also the case with votive rituals (Derks, 1998, p. 216; Osborne, 2004, p. 3).

the gods influenced the tone of the petitioners' address, although the vengeful, often violent nature of some of the punishments that the petitioners requested to be meted out onto suspected thieves should not be forgotten. As for curses deposited in other locations, the petitioners may have believed that the power of the place itself added to the power of their curse, especially cemeteries and amphitheatres, which acted as crossing points between the worlds of the living and the dead.⁷⁴⁰

Although many cursing rituals were performed in temples and other sacred places, they were not exactly the same as the other vows or prayers that were performed in those locations. The curses often used direct, coercive language to target supernatural power at the victims without the intervention of any deity, even though they might have been deposited in a temple or other sacred place. These formulas, termed "godless" by Kropp, had power on their own, stemming from the illocutionary force of speaking the words aloud.⁷⁴¹ An example is this curse from Mainz:⁷⁴²

*...qu[omodo] di hoc liquescet se [. . .sic co]llum membra me[du]lla peculium
d[e]ll[i]ques[ca]nt...*

...just like this will melt away, thus may the neck, the limbs, the marrow, the property melt away...

The petitioners who used these formulas, especially in sympathetic magical formulas such as this one, can be said to have been realising their own power to directly influence other people through the performance of cursing rituals. The objects involved in the rituals were crucial, as it was through the possession, preparation and manipulation of the lead tablets that this human power over others was asserted, in conjunction with the written and spoken words of the curse itself. Certain formulas and phrases attest to this, such as, for example, on the curse from Montfo:⁷⁴³

⁷⁴⁰ See Sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5 for further discussion.

⁷⁴¹ Kropp, 2008b, pp. 234-235.

⁷⁴² CTNW 289.

⁷⁴³ CTNW 256.

*quomodo hoc plumbu(m) non paret decadet sic decadat aetas membra vita bos
gran<o>um mer(x) eoru(m) qui mihi dolum malu fecerunt idem Asuete meos
Secundina que illum tulit et Verres Tearus et Amarantis et hoc omnia vobis dii
interdico in omnibus sortibus tam celebrare Masitlatida concinere necracantum
Col[. .]scantum et omnes deos [.] ta datus....*

just as this lead disappears and falls, thus falls their youth, limbs, life, ox, grain and goods those who did me wrong, namely Asuete meos, Secundina who stole it, and Verres Tearus and Amarantis and all that is yours, oh gods, I forbid (them) by all spells to celebrate the Masitlatida and to sing the Necrocantus... and all gods... is given...

The power of this curse comes from the petitioner him/herself, and from the action of deposition that they performed during the cursing ritual. That power is brought to bear not just on the victims and their belongings, but also their social relations, as the curse forbids them from celebrating a local religious festival, thereby isolating them from their community.⁷⁴⁴ In this example, and many others like it, we see cursing directly attempt to alter social relations within communities. It is probable that, whatever the actual outcome of the cursing ritual, at the very least it would have caused a change in how the petitioner behaved around their victims, and the forces of rumour and gossip could have stoked tensions even further.⁷⁴⁵ The power of cursing to influence social relations will be explored in the next section.

As discussed in Section 3.3, the manipulation and mutilation of the lead tablet was believed to add considerable power to the curse. On the supernatural level, this power came from the actions themselves, as they made use of the links created between the tablet and the victims by the writing of their names. Modern scholars might chose to deny the literal efficacy of such ritual actions – no-one would seriously argue that supernatural punishments were actually manifested on the victims named on the tablets – but

⁷⁴⁴ The term *Masitlatida* is unattested elsewhere, but the conclusion that it is a festival of some kind makes the most sense considering the verb *celebrare*. For a more detailed discussion see Marichal, 1981.

⁷⁴⁵ See above, Section 4.3.5.

nevertheless it is probable that these ritual actions did have some real power.

Manipulating and mutilating a lead tablet is a relatively demanding task, requiring an exertion of physical strength. Doing so could have resulted in a cathartic effect in the petitioner, perhaps producing feelings of released tension, regained control and justice served. There is also the possibility, as recently argued by Kiernan, that curse tablets created psychosomatic symptoms in victims who knew, or merely suspected, that they had been cursed.⁷⁴⁶ This has been observed in traditional societies in India and Africa, and is arguably behind the illnesses reported by the Roman orator Libanius when someone placed a mutilated chameleon in his classroom.⁷⁴⁷ Through this psychosomatic mechanism, spurred on by the fear and mistrust that can be created in networks of rumour and gossip, it is possible that victims of ancient curses actually did suffer physical symptoms because of the magical attacks perpetrated against them, just not in the ways that the petitioners might have intended.

5.4.3: Influence of cursing on social relations

Leaving aside speculation on the power of curses to physically affect their victims, perhaps the most important power implicit in these rituals is the way in which they could influence social relations. Engaging in cursing rituals gave petitioners a method through which they could negotiate their position within their community, as well as a means to take active steps to alter both their own social relations and those of their victims. Social anthropologists have often insisted that sorcery practices are intimately connected to social relations, the structure of social orders and the processes by which these are all defined.⁷⁴⁸ Others have argued that sorcery is fundamentally conservative, as it patrols the boundaries of what is acceptable and punishes those who transgress, such as thieves and adulterers.⁷⁴⁹ Social anthropology and classical studies have differed on this point, as in the latter field magic is often seen as isolated from mainstream society, having little to

⁷⁴⁶ Kiernan, 2004b.

⁷⁴⁷ Lib., 1.245-50. Discussed in more detail in Section 3.5.

⁷⁴⁸ Kapferer, 1997, p. 237.

⁷⁴⁹ Marwick, 1965, p. 221; Douglas, 1973, p. 42.

do with normal social relations.⁷⁵⁰ In this section I will show that this view is incorrect, and that cursing did have an important role in influencing social relations.

The central social relationships involved in ancient cursing rituals are those between the petitioners and their victims. The performance of a cursing ritual would have been an important moment in the ongoing development of these relationships, as one party was attempting to influence the other in ways that could have serious ramifications in real life, as discussed in Chapter 4. Where the petitioners were able to identify their victims by name it is reasonable to suggest, as I have already done, that they knew them in some capacity. Following on from this, I would argue that the act of cursing certain named victims could be seen as an attempt by the petitioner to define their social relationships with those around them by identifying people they believed to have been opposed to them.

Moreover, the grouping of a number of victims together on a single curse could have been an act of creating bounded social groups with a common cause. This is likely to have been behind the theft curses that name long lists of suspects, despite reporting the theft of relatively small, inexpensive objects such as cloaks or small quantities of cash.⁷⁵¹ As discussed in Chapter 4, these curses can be viewed as the petitioner naming the people they already believed were their enemies or rivals. I argue that in this way cursing helped the petitioners to work out their place in their community, and to take active steps to change their relationships with those around them. The Bad Kreuznach juridical curses in particular, which often included wives, slaves and lawyers as well as the main litigants, did not mark them out as isolated, individual opponents of the petitioners, but bound them all together into a group under the title of *inimici*.⁷⁵² As those particular trials progressed, and certain individuals became more or less involved, it seems that the

⁷⁵⁰ Kropp put this most emphatically when she stated that cursing rituals had no social function in sustaining or creating communities (Kropp, 2008b, p. 236).

⁷⁵¹ For example CTNW 19 (Bath, 18 victims accused of theft of six silver coins); CTNW 124 (Leicester, 18 victims accused of theft of a cloak); CTNW 66 (Bath, 10 victims accused of theft of a brooch or cutting tool); CTNW 156 (Rothwell, nine victims accused of an unspecified theft).

⁷⁵² In particular CTNW 265, 267, 271.

petitioners performed successive cursing rituals with different named victims, which can be viewed as a process of drawing and redrawing the boundaries of this group identity.

As this petitioner-victim relationship was the most important one for the cursing ritual, it was important to present it correctly. As has just been shown, the juridical curses helped to solidify the lines already established by the case, with prosecution and defence diametrically opposed. The petitioners were opposed to the victims on the theft curses too, with the former suffering because of the misdeeds of the latter. This is a fairly simplistic understanding of the relationships, however, and a closer analysis reveals more interesting facets. The relative power of victims and petitioners changed because of the cursing ritual, and this was often alluded to in the text written on the tablet. At the start of the ritual petitioners envisioned themselves as the underdogs, or the innocent victims of wrongdoing, putting them in a position of powerlessness in relation to those who had done them wrong. This is best summed up by one of the theft curses from Mainz and another prayer for justice from Groß-Gerau:

CTNW 309 (Mainz):

*quisquis dolum malum adm[isit de] hac pecun[i]a [---] ille melior et nos det[er]iores
sumus[---]*

Whoever has committed fraud regarding this money ... that (person) is the better
(off) and we are the worse (off) ...

CTNW 264 (Groß-Gerau):

*deum maxime Atthis Tyranne totumque duodeca theum comme/ndo deabus
iniurium fas*

Greatest of all gods, Atthis, lord, all of the twelve gods. I commend to the
goddesses my unjust fate ...

The petitioners of other theft curses that ask the gods to avenge or pursue the victim are in some sense admitting their own inability to do so without some outside help. This sense

of powerlessness could have come from the real powerlessness of the likes of women, slaves and non-citizens, who were at a disadvantage when it came to accessing the official justice system. In these situations, I argue that the petitioners of the Roman curses were expressing their sense of distress, loss and powerlessness, perhaps in a similar way to the Sinhalese Buddhists who use cursing shrines in Sri Lanka.⁷⁵³ The cursing rituals allowed the petitioners to take these feelings and transform them into angry agency, with the input of power from the gods or from the ritual itself. The Mainz curse mentioned above shows this,⁷⁵⁴ as later in the text the victim is compelled by the pain of physical punishment to come to the temple and confess their crimes in public. Conducting the curse ritual has allowed the petitioner to move from a position of powerlessness to one of power over the victim.

5.5: Conclusions

This chapter set out with the aim of examining how people in the Roman north-west constructed and expressed social personas and negotiated social relationships within communities in the context of curse tablet rituals. This has been achieved by looking at the evidence of the tablets through the lens of two distinct but connected theoretical concepts: identity and power. Ultimately the focus has been on the individual petitioners, embedded in their social contexts and at a specific moment of personal crisis. Cursing rituals helped people deal with these moments, giving them an opportunity to express their feelings of powerlessness and loss, and a way to imagine, define and change the social relations that led them to that point.

The study of the names inscribed on the curse tablets showed that there was no specific group of people who were more likely to engage in such rituals. Most of the named individuals were victims, as the petitioners preferred to remain anonymous. There were more men than women, and more Latin names than Celtic overall, with differences over time and space as various cultural changes affected the people of the provinces. In

⁷⁵³ Kapferer, 1997, p. 237f.

⁷⁵⁴ CTNW 309.

general though, it seems reasonable to conclude that the majority of both victims and petitioners were relatively local to the sites at which the curses were deposited. Most of the named individuals were given only a *cognomen*, which was the most intimate, personal name in the period under study. This means that data on legal status has been hard to obtain, but from what remains it seems likely that cursing was conducted by everyone from citizens to *liberti* and slaves, and all of these groups were certainly affected as victims.

Identity on the curse tablets was stripped back to its barest minimum. Most petitioners remained anonymous on their curses, rejecting their own complex social identities in the secret, intimate ritual communication with the gods. The only displays of identity seem to have been implicit: in the use of written Latin or Celtic, or in the skilled performance of ritual actions. By performing these actions they could have been marking out particular cultural identities, or subtly communicating their ability to access power out of reach of other humans. Naming was more important for their victims, but it rarely came with the formal, status-driven traditions and conventions that are visible on other forms of evidence from the ancient world. Victims were isolated from any defence or deference afforded to them by their status, and in the text of the curse were all reduced to the same level, becoming equally isolated and equally vulnerable to the supernatural power of the curses. At the same time, they were sometimes bound together into groups by petitioners who saw them as enemies. All of this marks out the evidence of the curse tablets as unique in the study of identity in the Roman provinces, as they show that, regardless of how carefully an individual presented their various social identities to those around them, other people could interpret, manipulate and abuse those identities to suit their own needs.

By physically carving their victim's names onto a lead sheet, the petitioners were making direct connections between the objects and the physical bodies of the victims. The petitioners believed that supernatural power would travel along this new link to destroy and injure the victims in often detailed and horrific ways. This power came from a variety

of sources depending on the specifics of the cursing ritual itself, but always had the result of increasing the petitioners' agency – their ability to act to imagine, define and change their relations with those around them. The relationships between petitioners and victims certainly changed through the cursing rituals, as encapsulated in the texts of the curses. The petitioners went from a position of powerlessness to one of power over their victims, through the intervention of a deity, the spirits of the dead or the power inherent in the ritual processes themselves. By turning this power outward onto the physical bodies or social relations of the victims, the petitioners attempted to reduce their victims' social standing while improving their own by association, as discussed in Chapter 4.

For many people in the Roman provinces, the ability to act in social contexts was restricted by the structures of a society that was dominated by a small group of free, wealthy, adult males, but it has been demonstrated in this chapter that curse tablets could provide a way to circumvent this, allowing direct communication with the gods regardless of individual backgrounds. Anthropological case studies from more modern contexts, especially Sri Lanka, have granted new insights by opening different ways of thinking about the ancient evidence. Our understanding of the connections between magical rituals, human power structures and agency in the ancient world should be developed further, rather than separating them off as if they had no connection at all.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The aim of this study has been to reconfigure the analysis of cursing rituals away from pan-imperial traditions and trends, and onto the experiences and actions of individuals within specific local contexts. Although I have examined the material through the lenses of a range of theoretical models and interpreted it from a number of different angles, the contexts in which cursing rituals were performed have always been at the forefront. These have taken the form of physical contexts, in terms of the places in which cursing rituals were performed, including discussions of other rituals and practices being performed nearby, memories and experiences of significant places and the impact of the materiality of the ritual objects and the petitioners' bodies on the performance of the cursing rituals. They have also taken the form of social contexts, in terms of the ways in which cursing rituals fitted into the ongoing webs of relationships between people within their communities and wider social structures.

Although these contexts have been important for my analysis, the real focus of this study has been the individuals who actually made the tablets and the impact that cursing rituals had on the ways in which they understood, and sought to change, their place in the world around them. The emphasis throughout has been on the actions of these individuals, and I have aimed to conceptualise curses as attempts by individuals to address situations of stress and tension in their lives. By framing my analysis in this way I have been aiming to move beyond the narrow focus on both the linguistics of curse texts and the apparent continuity of practice across the Graeco-Roman world that have been popular in previous scholarship. Curses from the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire have most often been examined within a pan-imperial magical tradition, and the aim of this study was to return them to their local contexts by studying them as products of the everyday lives of those who performed the rituals.

Another aim of this study has been to introduce more theoretically-informed thinking into scholarly debates around curse tablets. This had previously been lacking, as the majority of scholarship has focussed on close readings of the curse texts themselves. I have shown throughout this study that greater understanding of the significance of cursing rituals can be obtained by applying a wider range of theoretical models and discussions developed in other disciplines. It has been particularly fruitful to look at the study of similar practices in the modern social contexts studied by anthropologists and sociologists. Scholars in these disciplines have, since the pioneering work of Evans-Pritchard and Malinowski in the early twentieth century, always endeavoured to study magical beliefs and practices within the social contexts of the people in question. This has led to the development of theoretical models, such as Douglas' grid and group, which in turn can help scholars of the ancient world to ask new questions of the ancient evidence.

Finally, this study has aimed to bring curse tablets into contact with the ongoing discussions in closely connected areas of archaeology and ancient history, particularly studies of cultural change in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. Again, this has been lacking up to this point, probably owing to the difficulties inherent in studying these fragmentary, difficult and obscure objects, which has led to curse tablets being overlooked by the wider discipline. However, this study has shown the potential of curse tablets for contributing to the hotly-contested debates on identity, agency, power and social structures in the Roman provinces and, conversely, how applying the methods of scholars working on these topics can advance the understanding of the tablets themselves.

6.1: Outcomes

The analysis presented in this study has shown the intimate nature of the connections between cursing rituals and the physical, social and religious contexts in which they were conducted. I have argued that these rituals were performed creatively, with every element ultimately contributing towards the overall intent of the curse, as

petitioners attempted to produce the most effective possible appeal to the gods. I have argued that each individual performance of the ritual had its own internal logic and consistency, weaving together actions such as writing, speaking, moving, piercing, folding and depositing, and informed by individual interpretations of widely-held concepts of divine and human justice, public reputation, identity and power. Cursing was part of the ongoing debates within Roman provincial society about how humans could approach the gods, and about the ways in which supernatural power could influence the everyday lives of mortals. Unlike other scholars, who have seen cursing as “like a fungus”,⁷⁵⁵ a “perversion”⁷⁵⁶ and “the very emblem of black magic,”⁷⁵⁷ I have demonstrated that, although it may have been considered illegal and immoral by the religious and political authorities of the time, individual people of all genders, ethnicities and legal statuses seem to have viewed the creation of a curse tablet as an effective and satisfying method of attempting to resolve a personal crisis. Indeed, because of the patchy and prejudiced coverage of the official legal system in the provinces, curse tablets may have been the only method by which certain groups of people could access any form of justice when they perceived that they had suffered at the hands of an enemy or rival.

By focussing attention on the place of cursing in the everyday lives of petitioners themselves, I have successfully moved beyond the long-running scholarly discussions over the categorisation of these objects. Whether individual tablets are to be described as ‘binding *defixiones*’ or ‘prayers for justice’ or whether certain actions or written formulas were ‘magical’ or ‘religious’ has been of less concern for this analysis, and I have demonstrated that dispensing with such preoccupations is vital if the study of curse tablets is to advance beyond its current point. To put it another way, this study has shown that the ways in which modern scholars classify ancient curses is ultimately less important than how the rituals were used and understood by ancient people: not only those who actually performed them, but also any other person who was affected by them.

⁷⁵⁵ Luck, 2000, p. 204.

⁷⁵⁶ Lambert, 2004b, p. 77.

⁷⁵⁷ Graf, 1997b, p. 118.

This study has demonstrated the potential inherent in the corpus of curse tablets for contributing to wider theoretical discussions within archaeology and ancient history. Chapters 2, 3 and 5 in particular brought ancient cursing rituals into contact with the debated scholarly topics of lived experience, identity and agency, and I have demonstrated that these rituals have something unique to contribute to these discussions. With regard to identity, a subject that has been central to scholarly discussions for nearly 20 years (especially among British archaeologists), I have argued that curse tablets demonstrate that the displayed identities of individuals were not passively received by others around them, but could be interpreted, manipulated and abused. By simply naming both themselves and their victims using only *cognomina*, the petitioners of the curse tablets were stripping back their identities to the barest minimum, and therefore the most personal and intimate form. This is a very different understanding of identity than that which archaeologists have discussed when examining other forms of material evidence from the Roman provinces, and it is my contention that if curse tablets are omitted from such examinations then scholarly understanding of ancient identity will be incomplete.

On agency, too, I have demonstrated that cursing rituals provide indispensable evidence that should not be ignored by modern scholars. When analysed from within the social contexts in which they were embedded, curse tablets can reveal how people negotiated their relationships with both human and divine power structures, as well as ways in which they could increase their own agency at the expense of their rivals. Cursing was believed to give the petitioners the potential to circumvent official power structures, which were often stacked against them in favour of a small group of elite men, and to harness directly the vengeful power of the gods or the spirits of the dead. In this way, ancient cursing was not dissimilar to rituals practiced in the modern societies studied by anthropologists, where aggressive magical attacks are often interpreted as methods through which individuals seek to understand and change their relationships with the world around them.

A significant outcome of this study has been the demonstration that models constructed by anthropologists working in these modern societies can be successfully applied to the ancient evidence, further breaking down the idea that the Romans were a case apart in terms of the nature of their religious beliefs and practices. Although it appears that there may still be some lingering unease or discomfort about Roman magical practices among some scholars, this study has shown how central these could be to the everyday lives of individuals. Building on the conclusions presented here, it is my contention that the study of curse tablets and other magical practices can no longer remain the preserve of a small number of specialist scholars, but must be fully integrated into wider understanding of Roman society, both at the centre and the peripheries.

6.2: Limitations

Some of the questions that have been raised in this study have not been given concrete, final answers. This is partly a problem of evidence: in particular with the questions over motives and motivation it would be impossible to reach firm conclusions without conducting the kinds of participant interviews familiar from the work of anthropologists and ethnographers. Again, Eidinow's description of curse tablets as "a myriad of one-sided, slanderous conversations, whispered across the millennia,"⁷⁵⁸ is apt. There is so much more we could learn, if only we had some way of hearing the other side of the conversation, not to mention the parts of the petitioners' words that have been lost to the passage of time, as the lead on which they were recorded slowly corroded. Even where the texts are well preserved they are often frustratingly vague, leaving out crucial details such as motives or the petitioner's names. It must not be forgotten that these curses were not meant to be read by mortal eyes once they had been deposited, and much of the information that modern scholars would like to know would have been included in the words spoken aloud during the ritual for no-one but the gods to hear. Nevertheless, and despite the challenges inherent in studying these objects, there is no reason to abandon

⁷⁵⁸ Eidinow, 2007a, p. 229.

them, and in fact I have demonstrated throughout this study that there is still plenty of untapped potential within the corpus of curses for scholars attempting to reconstruct social life in the past.

For reasons of space, this study was necessarily limited in certain respects. Only 312 curse tablets were included in the database, out of around 2000 from the entire Graeco-Roman world. This is a consequence of the geographical and chronological limits that I set on the study, with the focus being on the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire between the first and fifth centuries AD. Curses found elsewhere, even in neighbouring regions such as Hispania or the Danubian provinces, often differ considerably from the north-western tablets studied here, with stronger influences from Graeco-Egyptian magical texts, and their inclusion in this study could have altered the conclusions drawn.

6.3: Scope for Further Study

The contextual approach that I have taken here could, and almost certainly should, be applied to other times and places where large caches of curses have been found, such as the Classical Athenian agora or the circuses of Roman Carthage and Hadrumetum. These are places where the linguistic or pan-Mediterranean focus of study of curse tablets has been much stronger than in the north-west, so a contextual approach could make a considerable contribution to the advancement of the discipline. The contextual approach could also be applied to other evidence for magical and religious practices, where the focus of study has primarily been on constructing typologies and systems of categorisation, rather than on their social significance. For example, amulets, *lamellae*, gemstones, pendants and figurines were all important parts of magical beliefs and practices in the Roman world, but they have never been studied comprehensively from an embedded, embodied perspective. I would argue that without doing so it is impossible to understand their roles in the everyday lives of the people who used them.

I have shown that the evidence provided by curse tablets could play a more significant role in the ongoing discussions about cultural change in the north-western provinces, and especially Roman Britain. The present study is not intended to form the last word on the topic, but rather a starting point for a greater inclusion of cursing ritual evidence into scholarly debates, not to mention other evidence of magical practices. As these debates continue to change and develop with the introduction of new theoretical models, the improvement of old models and the publications of new finds, the contribution of these kinds of evidence must continue to be taken into account. More work needs to be done on the interplay between magic and religion in the provinces, thereby perhaps overcoming some of the Rome-centric biases in debates on the definitions of these two contentious categories. The anthropological models and case studies used here could also be applied to the transition period around the Roman conquests of the north-west, to help archaeologists ask new questions about the changes in religious belief and practices that occurred with the coming of Rome to this region. Precious little has been written about magical practices in the iron age,⁷⁵⁹ but the theoretical models of Douglas and others could be fruitfully applied to even the scant evidence that is available.

From the conclusions drawn in this study it has become clear just how significant curse tablets in the north-western provinces could be for the ongoing relationships between the individuals involved and the world around them. They were available to all people, regardless of gender, ethnicity or status, and will almost certainly have helped them to make sense of events in their lives that seemed beyond their control. Cursing rituals had a fluid, shifting relationship with established religion and other power structures, and had enough scope for creativity to allow individual petitioners to make the best possible curse to suit their own needs, at times drawing on widely-held notions of divine power, human justice, crime and punishment and public identity, and at other times directly reversing these concepts. Conclusions on this scale are important for scholars, but the individual

⁷⁵⁹ Although Chadwick (2012; 2015) has recently begun to investigate this more.

lives of the petitioners should not be lost from view. Behind every curse tablet is someone like the wife of Florus from Mainz with whom we began: a woman trying to make sense of a desperate situation.

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Preface to the Appendices

Appendix 1 contains all of the 312 curse tablets from the north-western provinces that have been collected for this study. The tablets are numbered 1-312, sorted alphabetically by province first, then alphabetically by find site, so that 'Britannia: Aylesford' is first, followed by 'Britannia: Bath' then 'Britannia: Brandon' and so on. The Leiden Epigraphic conventions have been followed for the transliterated and reconstructed Latin texts, but for the English translation I have aimed for readability, and so have removed all but the most necessary technical marks. Dimensions are given by the axis of writing, horizontal axis first.

Appendix 2 is a list of all of the personal names found on the tablets in the study, 533 in total. They are sorted alphabetically, and each name has been given a role, gender, language origin and, where possible, legal status.

Appendix 1

TabletID	1	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Aylesford
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	89 by 71	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin	House				
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1986): 428-31 Tomlin (1985): 19-25					
Transcription					
sssti//donatiodiebusquo/peritbuturesque/quefu.[.] tneantesa/netatenecsalute/nesiquaindo.odei/. .csanetateindo/[---]san. .an[...].p[. .]/[...].sum[....					
Reconstructed text					
s(. . .) s(upra)s(crip)ti (or the 'Chnoubis' magical symbol) // donatio di<e>bus quo<d> / per<d>it Butu resque / qu<a>e... Nec ante sa/netate nec salute / nesi qua<m> in do[m]o dei /[---] sanetate in do/[mo dei?] .../...					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
A gift to the gods (?) by which Butu has perished, and the property which... neither health nor safety before unless in the house of God... health in the house of God					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written boustrophedon. Text confused, seems to have been put together from half-understood formulas May have Christian significance, but far from certain. SSS with horizontal line is the 'Chnoubis' symbol found in Greco-Egyptian magical texts. Found on amulets and lamellae in Roman Britain. Folded 7 or 8 times.					

TabletID	2	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 52	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 13					
Transcription					
(capitals) [---]involaverit/[---]lluminvola/[---]virus mulieris/[---]illido [---]us/[---]llumvitali/ (cursive) espeditus/tatirum					
Reconstructed text					
(capitals) [---]involaverit/[---]lluminvola/[---]virus mulieris/[---]illido [---]us/[---]llum Vitali/ (cursive) Espeditus/tatirum					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
...has stolen... has stolen... man or woman (?)... Vitalis (cursive) Espeditus... Tatirum					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Five conjoining fragments of lead sheet, full of casting holes before inscribed. Cursive text is in a different hand and upside down, compared to text in capitals. Folded twice.					

TabletID	3	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 19 by 21 ii) 13 by 12 iii) 16 by 10			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete
				lead alloy	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis. 83					
Transcription					
i) [---].ssum[---]/[---].ute[---] ii) [---].el/[---]. [---] iii) [---]cum[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Of 15 small fragments from an unknown number of tablets, the best three are here included.					

TabletID	4	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 29	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 82				
Transcription	[---].[---] / [---]sol. . . [---]				
Reconstructed text	<input type="checkbox"/> Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Fragment from the bottom of a tablet cut from an alloy sheet. Folded once.				

TabletID	5	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	23 by 14	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 81					
Transcription					
[---]/[---]utquand[---]/[---].[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] ut quand[iu?]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Perhaps from a pair of correlative clauses e.g. Tab Sul. 52					

TabletID	6	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 67	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 78				
Transcription]itiluslinu[/]bitluuslin[
Reconstructed text	[B?]itilus Linu[s] / ?Bitil{u}us Lin[us]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Same sequence of letters in each line, but possibly different hands. Clumsily inscribed, perhaps by two different hands.				

TabletID	7	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	159 by 100		Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead alloy		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 58					
Transcription					
A/BC/ER/NI //---/---/---/---esueb--- /---no /---n[-]ci---/---curillas---/---s--- rsi---/---/---inuo---/---lo---					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Traces of 'si servus si liber' and 'involavit'					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded twice, with outside text inscribed after folding.					

TabletID	8	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	24 by 20	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 22					
Transcription					
d[---] / ho.[---]					
Reconstructed text					
d[---] / hoc[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	9	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	21 by 16	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 21					
Transcription					
[---]sulist[---]/[---]en[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[?dea] Sulis t[ibi] / [---]en[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	10	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 39 by 19		Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
	ii) 28 by 24		lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Context		Motive	Unspecified	
Latin	Spring, Temple				
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 20					
Transcription					
i) [---]eaesu[---]/[---]					
ii) sequ[---]/etm[---]/f[---]					
Reconstructed text					
i) [d]eae Su[li]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments and another, not necessarily from the same tablet or by the same hand.					

TabletID	11	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 55	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language	Context	Motive	Perjury		
Latin	Spring, Temple				
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 94 Hassall and Tomlin (1981): 378 Adams (1992): 10					
Transcription					
uricalusodo.ilosaux. .sua/docilisfiliussuusetdocilina/ decentinusfratersuusalogiosa/ nominaaeorumquiurauerunt/ quiuraueruntadfontemdeaesuli/ prid ^e idus Apriles quicumque illic per/ iuraverit deaesulifaciasillum/ sanguinesuo illud satisfacere					
Reconstructed text					
Uricalus Do[c]ilosa ux[or] sua/ Docilis filius suus et Docilina/ Decentinus frater suus Alogiosa/ nomina{a} eorum qui iuraverunt/{qui iuraverunt} ad fontem deae Suli<s>/ prid<i>e idus Apriles quicumque illic per/iuraverit deae Suli facias illum/ sanguine suo illud satisfacere					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Uricalus, Docilosa his wife, Docilis his son and Docilina, Decentinus his brother, Alogiosa: the names of those who have sworn <who have sworn> at the spring of the goddess Sulis on the 12th of April. Whosoever has perjured himself there you are to make him pay for it to the goddess Sulis in his own blood.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
A sanction against perjury that accompanied an oath sworn at the spring - unique. First epigraphic evidence of a belief attested elsewhere that hot springs punished perjury. Oath seems to be a family matter, perhaps division of inherited property. Unattested Celtic name of father, Latin cognomen for mother. 12th of April was first day of Ludi Cereales in Rome - unknown local significance.					

TabletID	12	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 56 by 46 ii) 17 by 20		Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead alloy		
Language	Context		Motive	TheftOtherSpecific	
Celtic, Latin	Spring, Temple				
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 14 Tomlin in BBCS (1987) Mullen in Studia Celtica (2007) RIG L-108					
Transcription					
i) luciumio[---]/cittimediui[-]xs[---]/uibec[---] traceos[---]/estaidimaui[---]/titledmmacatacimluci[---]/lendiierandant[---]nnoa[---]/[-]uc[---] miotouesulara[---]irando[---]/[---]mnottanou[-]mdii[---]/[---]cii[---]eleubarrau[---]/[---] staginemse[---]/[---]fer[---]/[---]r[---] ii) [---]luio/[---]aiqtit/[---]ri					
Reconstructed text					
i) luciumio[---]/cittimediui[-]xs[---]/uibec[---] traceos[---]/estaidimaui[---]/titledmmacatacimluci[---]/lendiierandant[---]nnoa[---]/[-]uc[---] miotouesulara[---]irando[---]/[---]mnottanou[-]mdii[---]/[---]cii[---]eleubarrau[---]/[---] staginemse[---]/[---]fer[---]/[---]r[---] ii) [---]luio/[---]aiqtit/[---]ri					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
(Mullen 2007): I curse... he who stole my sword... (?) (Mees 2009) I commit... (son) of Cittos, Mediurixs... Vibec... traceos... stolen... I commit... I commit to Vesula... nine nights... Barra... tin...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written by as many as five different hands using different stili. Tiny writing, jumbled and cramped at bottom. Passed around group? Certainly not planned or copied.					

TabletID	13	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	16 by 17	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 86					
Transcription					
[---] / [---]resinuol[---] / [---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] / [---]res invol[avit or erit]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... stolen things...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	14	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 43 by 23 ii) 22 by 14 iii) 17 by 17		Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 12					
Transcription					
i) [---]marin[---]/[---]quaspe[---]/[---].tiolomeo[---]/[---]nuolaueritsi[---] ii) dan.[---]/resme[---]/.e. [---] iii) nit.[---]/meas[---]/infr[---]					
Reconstructed text					
i) [---]Marin[us?] / [---]quas pe[rdidi?] / [---].tiolo meo[---] / [i]nvolaverit si[---] ii) dan.[---] / res me[as] / .e. [---] iii) nit.[---][res?] / meas[] / inf[rascript?]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
i)Marinus... which have been given... my... stolen... ii)my things... iii)my things... written below...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Three unconjoined fragments of similar but not identical script.					

TabletID	15	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 25 by 32 (ii) 17 by 25 (iii) 32 by 23 (iv) 15 by 13 (v) 9 by 22		Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead alloy		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 11					
Transcription	i) [---] / lauer[---] / fuerit[---] / uisil[---] / queco[---] ii) [---]ue[---] / [---]dibat[---] / [---]iber[---] / [---] iii) [---] / [---].cumque[---] / [---]quicumq[---] / [---]ic[---] iv) ho[---] / fueri[---] v) [---]. [---] / [---]u.[---]				
Reconstructed text	i) [---invo]/lauer[it---] / fuerit [---dona?]/vi si l[iber si servus quicum]/que co[---] ii) [---]ve[---] / [---] dibat.[---] / si l[iber [si servus] / [---] iii) [---] / [---qui]cumque[---] / [---]quicumque[---] / [---qu?]ic[um]que iv) ho[c---] / fueri[t---] v) [---]. [---] / [---]u.[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Five fragments, not conjoining nor even necessarily from the same tablet not by the same hand. iii) could be writing practice.				

TabletID	16	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	(ii) 26 by 33		Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			tin		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 7					
Transcription					
i) [---]uo[---]					
ii) [---s]/angu[---]/noctis[---]/quimih[---] /uui[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---s]/angu[ine(m)---]/noctis [---] / qui mih[i ---] / uui [---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
... blood... of night... which to me...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Three fragments, two conjoining but third not necessarily from the same tablet. Sanguine(m) and qui mihi... are common in formulae, but noctis is unparalleled.					

TabletID	17	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 52	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 1 Hassall and Tomlin (1983): 336-7					
Transcription					
A B C D E F X					
Reconstructed text					
ABC def<i>x<io>					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Alphabets and part-alphabets common graffiti. Possible magical significance.					

TabletID	18	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 39	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		tin			
Language		Context		Motive	Burglary
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 99 Hassall and Tomlin (1983): 339 Adams (1992): 3-4; 5					
Transcription					
execroquiinuolauer/sohedxiromoediuq ti/ipitiosuoperdideritqui/cumque[.]deusillum/ inueniatsanguineet/ uitaesuaeilludredemat					
Reconstructed text					
execro <eum> qui involaver/it qui<d> Deomiorix de hos/{i}pitio suo perdiderit qui/cumque <e> r[it?] deus illum/ inueniat sanguine et/ vitae suae illud redemat					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I curse (him) who has stolen, who has robbed Deomiorix from his house. Whoever (stole his) property, the god is to find him. Let him buy it back with (his) blood and his own life.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Line 2 is written R to L, all the rest is L to R. Scribe may have intended a boustrophedon text, but forgot when came to line 4. Deomiorix is unattested, and is a solecism for another case - perhaps scribe didn't know how to decline the name.					

TabletID	19	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	105 by 60	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftMoney
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 98 Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 404-5 Adams (1992): 10-11, 15, 17-18, 19 Gager (1992) n. 96					
Transcription					
tireuagornicohihimiuqsetupemuusmeni/ugnastudesanodispiciscentirededmut[s.]ger/ pednimaquilameduar[.]repihimiss[.]e/[.]ixerepospibaaedanim[.]duttireuaruf/ s[.] etnegraxsaemasrubedenetutnamo/ .ainnaihimrebilmurtussuu[.]smurtu/ alleupmurtureupmurtureilummurt./riumurtueuqmuceauqsunaitsih/ cuessnegues // ossips[...] mutsop/ anual.annicol/alusnuganretam/suiciteuanididanc/sunirgerep-----/ sunital/ sunaicines/sunaitiua/rotciu/su[.]ocs/ ainucissea/accutlap/sipoillac/sunairelec					
Reconstructed text					
seu gen<tili>s seu C/h<r>istianus quaecumque utrum vir/ [u]trum mulier utrum puer utrum puella/ utrum s[er]vus utrum liber mihi Annia[n]/o ma{n}tutene de bursa mea <e>x argente[o]s/ furaverit tu d[o]mina dea ab ipso perexi[g]/[--- eo]s si mihi per [f]raudem aliquam inde p/reg[u] stum dederit nec sic ipsi dona sed ut sangu/inem suum (r)eputes qui mihi hoc inrogaverit // Postum[inu]s Pisso/ Locinna [A]launa/ Materna Gunsula/ C[an]didina Euticius/ Peregrinus/ Latinus/ Senicianus/ Avitianus/ Victor/ Sco[ti]us/ Aessicunia/ Paltucca/ Calliopis/ Celerianus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Whether pagan or Christian, whosoever, whether man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, has stolen from me, Annianus (son of) Matutina (?), six silver coins from my purse, you, lady goddess, are to exact [them] from him. If through some deceit he has given me..., and do not give thus to him, but reckon as(?) the blood of him who has invoked this upon me. Postuminus, Pisso, Locinna, Alauna, Materna, Gunsula, Candidina, Euticius, Peregrinus, Latinus, Senicianus, Avitianus, Victor, Scotius, Aessicunia, Paltucca, Calliopis, Celerianus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Scraped laterally before inscribing to create a flat surface. Written R to L, with sequence of letters reversed (from beginning to end on side 1, in each line on side 2). First occurrence of "Christianus" in epigraphy of Roman Britian. Sulis thought to have power over Christians and Pagans alike. List of names, mixture of Celtic and Latin. Landscape on front, portrait on back.					

TabletID	20	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	128 by 49	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftJewellery
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 97 Hassall and Tomlin (1983): 338 Tomlin (1991): 308 Adams (1992): 6, 8f Tomlin in Fluchtafeln (2004): 22					
Transcription					
primurudeum (at right angles to main body) basiliadonatintemplummartisani/lumargenteumsiserussiliber/mdiusiluerituelaliquiddehoc/g/ noueritutsanuineetliminibuset//omnibusmembrisconfigaturuet/ iamintestinisexcomesisnibusushabe/isquianiluminuolauituelquimediufuerit					
Reconstructed text					
primurudeum (at right angles to main body) Basilia donat in templum Martis ane/l<l>um argenteum si ser<v>us si liber/ medius fuerit vel aliquid de hoc/ noverit ut sanguine et luminibus et // omnibus membris configatur vel et/iam intestina excomesa <om>nibus habe<at>/ is qui anellum involavit vel qui medius fuerit.					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Primurudeum. Basilia presents to the temple of Mars (her) silver ring. If slave or free man has been involved, or knows anything about it, he may be accursed in (his) blood and eyes and all his limbs, or even with all his intestines eaten away: he who has stolen the ring or was a witness is done for.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Basilia only attested elsewhere in Christian contexts Only tablet to give the stolen property to the temple. Temple of Mars in Bath unattested, but existence implied by RIB 140, an altar. Could be petitioner reminding Sulis that they have already asked Mars, or acknowledging dominance of Sulis. List of affected parts more common outside Britain.					

TabletID	21	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	58 by 22	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead alloy		
Language		Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 96 Hassall and Tomlin (1983): 341					
Transcription					
Victorinus / Talipieinus / Minantius / Victorianus // Compe<pe>dita / Valaune(i)cus /{a}Belia					
Reconstructed text					
Victorinus / Talipieinus / Minantius / Victorianus // Compe/<pe>dita / Valaune(i)cus /{a}Belia					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Victorinus, Talipieinus, Minantius, Victorianus, Compedita, Valaunecus, Belia.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Possibly the same hand as Tab Sulis: 95. List of names, mixture of Latin and Celtic. Valaunecus presumably a theophoric name derived from god Vellaunus, identified with Mars and Mercury (RIB 309; CIL XII 2373)					

TabletID	22	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	86 by 37	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Uninscribed		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 118					
Transcription					
Uninscribed.					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Uninscribed, but folded twice to resemble an inscribed and folded tablet. May have accompanied a verbal petition.				

TabletID	23	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	36 by 21	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 19					
Transcription					
	[---][. .][I][.]de[---]/[---]emdetnisi[---]/[---]inuero daes[---]				
Reconstructed text					
	[---][. .][I][.]de[---]/[---]em det nisi [---]/[---]in vero d<e>ae S[ulis---				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	... gives, unless... goddess Sulis				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	24	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	82 by 74	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 104				
Transcription	... us/ ...us/ ...a/ uasomo[.]/nicinifii./]unom. .a/s. .nus/mas				
Reconstructed text	Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Three texts on one tablet; one superimposed on another, with a third below. At least two hands. Scripts are puzzling, and reading in serious doubt				

TabletID	25	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	81 by 60	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Uninscribed		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 117					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Cut from alloy sheet and prepared for inscribing, but uninscribed. Perhaps the same alloy sheet as Tab. Sulis 2.				

TabletID	26	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	52 by 27	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Pseudo-Inscription		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 116					
Transcription					
+ X X /X + +					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed with two rows of three crosses. Folded once.					

TabletID	27	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 25	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Pseudo-Inscription		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 115					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Inscribed with four lines of short vertical cuts (faint, barely visible), with no sign they ever belonged to deliberate letters. Thick sheet, harder to fold and nail. Folded twice.				

TabletID	28	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	59 by 68	Material	tin	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Pseudo-Inscription		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 113					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Inscribed with a stylus on both sides and scored with a knife. Inscription consists of repeated characters resembling '7' or inverted 'V'.				

TabletID	29	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	90 by 60	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 111				
Transcription	No text legible.				
Reconstructed text	Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Inscribed both sides, probably in NRC. Folded three times and doubled on itself.				

TabletID	30	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	40 by 30	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 110					
Transcription					
	.[---] / qui[---] / isti.[---] / . .ni. .[---]				
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Two conjoining fragments, still folded.				

TabletID	31	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	18 by 22	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 109				
Transcription	[---]us.[---] / [---]duo[---] / [---].m.[---]				
Reconstructed text	<input type="checkbox"/> Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	32	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	27 by 31	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 108 (i)					
Transcription					
Docim[---] / desu[---] / . .n.[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Docim[edis?---] / de(ae) Su[li---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					
Fragment of tablet, still folded. Inscription on the outside.					

TabletID	33	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	41 by 23	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 107					
Transcription					
[---]mquimi[---]/[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---eu?]m qui mi[hi fraudem fecit?---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
he who did me wrong?					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	34	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	43 by 54	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 84				
Transcription	[---]. .noc.[---]/[---]p[.].[---]/[---]				
Reconstructed text	<input type="checkbox"/> Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Two conjoining fragments, heavily corroded.				

TabletID	35	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 52	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 105					
Transcription	[---]c[---]/ [---]docsim[---]/ [---]ueritsiser/ [---]/ [---]/ [---] // [---]tri[---]/ [---]c[---]/ [---]mfecerit[---]/ [---]cni[---]/ [---]dsad[---]nbr[-]s[-]p[-]d./ [---]intelleg[---]/ [---]				
Reconstructed text	[---]/ [---]Doscim[---]/ [---]verit si ser/[vus si liber---]/ [---]/ [---]/ [---] // [---]/ [---]fraude?]m fecerit [---]/ [---]/ [---] intelleg[---]/ [---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... whether slave or free... has done wrong... understand/stood...					
Associated finds					
Notes	Two conjoining fragments. Much of the text is too faint to be deciphered.]Doscim[could be a personal name, cf. Docimedis. Folded 4 times.				

TabletID	36	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	20 by 22	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 85					
Transcription					
[---] / [---] sum [---] / [---] acusaue [---] / [---] qudfra [---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] / [---] / [---] / qu<o>d fra[udem fecit]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... who has done wrong...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	37	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 27	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 103					
Transcription					
modsusio[-]iuiuci/mainaticafsued/iuserdep					
Reconstructed text					
... / deaus faciat ani<m>am / pe<r>d<e>re sui					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... may the god make (him) lose his life.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Line 1 inscribed left to right, lines 2-3 inscribed right to left. Copying errors due to reversal of text.					

TabletID	38	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	38 by 53	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 102				
Transcription	numenfur/tisise[-]us/sil[---]r/sipuersipue/lla[---]/[---]/[---]				
Reconstructed text	numen fur/ti si se[r]<v>us / si l[ibe]r / si puer si pue/lla [---]/[---]/[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation The name (?) of the thief (?), whether slave or free, whether boy or girl				
Associated finds					
Notes	Three conjoining fragments. 'Numen' best understood as an error for 'nomen.'				

TabletID	39	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	64 by 55	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 101					
Transcription					
siupesurusmiimiii/ilesiceriasiusi/igeunsnsrper/maneat					
Reconstructed text					
si.../ ile si Cerasius si / l<n>ge<n>u<u>(n)s[---] per/maneat					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Whether... whether... Ingenuus... let him remain...					
Associated finds					
Notes	Tomlin: Text too corrupt for restoration. May be a blundered and garbled copy. Observations: back covered in hammer marks - some come through to front and effect writing. Sides badly cut - marks and lines. Folded once.				

TabletID	40	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	32 by 22	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 93				
Transcription	Only traces visible.				
Reconstructed text	Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Fragment, inscribed on both sides.				

TabletID	41	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	150 wide	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 91					
Transcription					
[-]ecurap[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[S]ecura P[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Personal names inscribed on the outside of a folded tablet. Folded 3 times.					

TabletID	42	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	100 by 32	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 90					
Transcription					
d[---] / qu[---] / [---]					
Reconstructed text					
d[ae Suli. . .? qu[i involavit?---					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
goddess Sulis... who has stolen?					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded 7 times.					

TabletID	43	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	23 by 17	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Uninscribed		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 88					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	44	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	21 by 14	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 87					
Transcription					
[---]ili[---] / [---]erus[---] / [---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/ [---si s]er<v>us [---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	45	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	99 by 134	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftDomesticObjects
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis: 66 Adams (1992): 15					
Transcription					
exsuperius/ donatpannumferri/quiilliinnoc[---]nfam/tusc[---]su/lissiur[---]as[-] serus/siliberho[-]/ill[---]/ et[---]er[---] /suasinu[-]la[---]n[---]iuir/sifeminas[---]sfecerit/ sanguin[-] ill[-] rumhoc/deuindices[-] q[-]isaenummi/hiinuolau[-]t					
Reconstructed text					
Exsuperius/ donat pannum ferri/ qui illi innoc[entiam? ---]nfam/tusc[---] Su/lis si vir [si femin]a s[i] ser<v>us/ si liber ho[c] / ill[---] / et[---]er[---] / suas inv[o]la[veru]n[t] s[i] vir/ si femina s[ati] sfecerit/ sanguin[e] illorum hoc/ devindices [si?] q[u]is aenum mi/hi involav[i]t					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Exsuperius gives an iron pan(?). (The person) who... innocence for him... of (?) Sulis, whether man [or woman], whether slave or free,... this ... and... have stolen his..., whether man or woman, is to have given satisfaction with their blood. You are to reclaim(?) this [if] anyone has stolen the vessel from me.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Five conjoining fragments. Combination of ORC and NRC, only name is written in NRC. Folded 9 times.					

TabletID	46	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 55	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 106				
Transcription	Letter forms too ambiguous for transcription. A, E, N, S and V can be recognised.				
Reconstructed text	<input type="checkbox"/> Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	47	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	63 by 63	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftJewellery
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 15 Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 402					
Transcription					
nomenrei / quidestra / leinuolaue / rit					
Reconstructed text					
nomen rei/ qui destra/le involave/rit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
The name of the culprit who has stolen (my) bracelet (is given).					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The only Bath tablet to be inscribed on an 'ansate panel' which may have been intended for display. Possibly a blank tablet produced and then inscribed by another.					

TabletID	48	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	59 by 22	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 95 Hassall and Tomlin (1983): 339					
Transcription					
Cunsa Maria / Docimedis Vendibedis / Sedebelia Cunsus / Severiaianus / Seniila					
Reconstructed text					
Cunsa // Maria / Docimedis // Vendibedis / Sedebelia // Cunsus / Severia{ia}nus / Seni{i}la					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Cunsa, Docimedis, Sedebelia, Maria, Vendibedis, Cunsus, Severianus, Senila					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Possibly same hand as Tab Sulis: 96. List of names - some male, some female. Some Celtic, some Latin.					

TabletID	49	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	59 by 55	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 36					
Transcription					
[---]q[---]/ etinuola[---]/ duode[---]/ adhuisgar[---]/ deueniatsilib[---]/ siserussipuer[---]/ uellasiuir[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[si?]q[uis?---]/ et invola[vit]/ duo de[---]/ad hui<u>s gar[---]/ de<us> <in>veniat si lib[er]/ si ser<v>us si puer [si]/ [p]uella si vir s[i] femina---					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
... and has stolen... two... the god will find, whether free or slave, whether boy or girl, whether man [or woman]...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	50	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	61 by 46	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	OtherPrayerForJustice
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 35					
Transcription					
deaesul[-]mineruae/rogo[-]antissimam/maiestatemtuamu[-]/uindicesabhis[-]ui[---]/ [---] mfeceruntutei[---]/ mittasnecsemnum[---]					
Reconstructed text					
deae Sul[i] Minervae/ rogo [s]antissimam/ maiestatem tuam u[t]/ vindices ab his [q]ui [fra]/ [ude]m fecerunt ut ei[s per]/mittas nec s(o)mnum [nec] / [---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the goddess Sulis Minerva. I ask your most sacred majesty that you take vengeance on those who have done (me) wrong, that you permit them neither sleep [nor...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	51	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	98 by 66	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftMoney
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 34 Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 403					
Transcription					
deaesuliminervae docca/ dono numini tuo pecuniam quam/[---]misi id est* uetis[-]ui/[---]tsiser[--] ss[---]/[---]exsigat[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
deae Suli Minervae Docca/ dono numini tuo pecuniam quam/[---a]misi id est (denarios) (quinque) et is [q]ui/ [eam involaveri]t si ser[vu]s s[si liber]/[si vir si femina] ex{s}igat[ur---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Docca to the goddess Sulis Minerva. I give to your divinity the money which I have lost, that is five denarii, and he who [has stolen it], whether slave or [free, whether man or woman], is to be compelled...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Nail hole in top right corner. * = usual symbol for denarios Very thin tablet. Nail hole without exit wound - eroded. Shallow, thin writing.					

TabletID	52	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	37 by 38	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 33					
Transcription					
deomarti[---]/do[--] maiest[---]/sacellum[---]/[---]nisie[---]					
Reconstructed text					
deo Marti [---] /do[no?] maiest[ati tuo] /sa<g>cellum [---] / [---] nisi e[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation ... to the god Mars... [I] give to [your] majesty ... cloak... unless...				
Associated finds					
Notes					
Only Bath tablet addressed to Mars (Tab Sulis 97 references a templum of Mars). Only other epigraphic evidence for cult of Mars at Bath is RIB 140. Sacellum could be a mistake for sagellum, the diminutive for sagum.					

TabletID	53	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	78 by 91	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftClothing		
Latin	Spring, Temple				
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 32 Adams (1992): 14-15; 18-19					
Transcription					
deaesulimineruesoli/nusdononuminituoma/iestatipaxsabaearemet[---]/leumn[---]ermitta[---] mnum/ necsan[---]tem[-]ei quimihifru/dem[-]ecitsiursifemi[---]siseruus/s[-]j[---]ernissi[---] eretegensistas/ s[-]jeciesad[---]mplumtuumdetulerit/ [---]berisuiuelson[---]suae[-]qui/[---] deg[---]/ei quoque[---]xe[---]/[---]mnumne[---]/m[---]n[---]alul[-]um/etrelinq[-]snissiad[-] mplumtu/umistasresretulerint					
Reconstructed text					
deae Suli Minerv<a>e Soli/nus dono numini tuo mai/estati pax{s}a<m> ba<ln>earem et/ [pal] leum [nec p]ermitta[s so]mnum/ nec san[ita]tem {---} ei qui mihi fr<a>/udem [f]ecit si vir si femi[na] si servus/ s[i] l[ib]er ni{s}si [s]e retogens istas/ s[p]ecies ad [te]mplum tuum detulerit/ [--- li]beri sui vel son[---] sua e[t?] qui/ [---]deg[---]/ ei quoque [---]xe[---]/ [---so]mnum ne[c sanitate]/m [---]n[---]p[al]{u}<e>um/ et reli{n}q[ua]s nis{s}i ad [te]mplum tu/um istas res retulerint					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Solinus to the goddess Sulis Minerva. I give to your divinity (and) majesty (my) bathing tunic and cloak. Do not allow sleep or health to him who has done me wrong, whether man or woman, whether slave or free, unless he reveals himself and brings those goods to your temple... his children or his... and(?) who to him also ... sleep or [health]... cloak and the rest, unless they bring those things to your temple.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Text repetitive and formulaic. Spelling mistakes possibly due to carelessness and perhaps haste. Folded 4 times.					

TabletID	54	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	36 by 88	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftTools
Bibliography					
Tab Sulis: 31 Adams (1992): 6, 10					
Transcription					
sicusuome/remciuilis/inuolauit/utan[---]/suuaintem/plodeponat/[---]o[-]uom/ [---]ub/ [---]ruus/ silibersili/ bertinus[--]/ unan[--]o/finemfaci/[-]m					
Reconstructed text					
si <q><ui>s vome/rem Civilis /involavit /ut an[imam] su{u}a<m> in tem/plo deponat/ [si? n]o[n] vom/[erem---] ub/[---si se]rvus /si liber si li/bertinus [--]/ unan[--] o/ finem faci/[a]m					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
If anyone has stolen Civilis' ploughshare (I ask) that he lay down his life in the temple [?unless] ... the ploughshare, whether slave or free or freedman... I make an end to...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The ploughshare is the only item in the Bath tablets that could not have been stolen at the baths. Civilis presumably lived outside the town. Folded 3 times.					

TabletID	55	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	145 diameter	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		pewter			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 30 Hassall and Tomlin (1985): 323 Adams (1992): 12					
Transcription					
Severianus fil(ius) Brigomall<a>e / Patarnianus filius / Matarnus ussor / Catonius Potentini / Marinianus Belcati / Lucillus Lucciani / Aeternus Ingenui / Bellaus Bellini					
Reconstructed text					
Severianus fil(ius) Brigomall<a>e / Patarnianus filius / Matarnus u<x>or / Catonius Potentini / Marinianus Belcati / Lucillus Lucciani / Aeternus Ingenui / Bellaus Bellini					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Severianus son of Brigomalla; Patarnianus (his?) son; Matarnus (and his?) wife; Catonius (son of) Potentinus; Marinianus (son of) Belcatus; Lucillus (son of) Luccianus; Aeternus (son of) Ingenuus; Bellaus (son of) Bellinus.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Circular plate with beaded rim. Line 1 is only instance of matronymic from Bath - common in curses from Italy and Africa. Folded twice.					

TabletID	56	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	38 diameter	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		tin			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 18 Tomlin in BBCS (1987) RIG L-107 Mullen (2007)					
Transcription					
adixoui / deiana / deieda / andagin / uindiorix / cuamiin / ai					
Reconstructed text					
adixoui / deiana / deieda / andagin / uindiorix / cuamiin / ai					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
(Schrijver 2005: 60) I have dedicated a bath (?) ointment (?) to the divine D.; (I) Vindiorix for the sake of (my) Sweetheart. (Mullen 2007: 41) I, Vindorix, O divine Deieda (or Deveda), shall fix an evil (fate?) on Cuamiina (Mees 2009: 35): The affixed: Devina, Deieda, Andagin (and) Vindiorix I have bound.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Disc of tin with 'bronze' patination, having attached ring for suspension as a pendant. Written in Celtic.					

TabletID	57	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	46 by 75	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead alloy		
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 38					
Transcription					
[---]donoti/[---]ream/[---]l[-]siuiomeo/[---]xgaspe[---]a/[---]iusquihis/[---]rituelqui/[---]itsifemina/[---] o[---]liber/[---]sa[---]/[---]/[---]umpertuleri					
Reconstructed text					
[Deae Suli?] dono ti/[bi---]ream/ [---] l[-]sivio meo/ [---e]x<i>gas pe[r? sa/[?nguinem e]ius qui has/ [involave]rit vel qui/ [medius? fuer]it si femina/ [---]o[- si] liber /[---]sa[---]/[---]/[---]um pertuleri(t)					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
...I give to you... [that] you may exact (them) [through the blood of him] who has [stolen] these, or who has [been privy to it,] whether woman... whether free... has brought...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Theft of an item, perhaps golden - [au]ream l.2. For restoration of 4-5, cf Tab Sulis: 41. Folded 4 times.					

TabletID	58	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	77 by 58	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 16 Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 402				
Transcription	nomen / furisqui / later // rquet / donatu/ur				
Reconstructed text	nomen/ furis qui/ later// rquet donat{u}/ur				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
	The name of the thief who... is given.				
Associated finds					
Notes	Tomlin: Seems to be a blundered version of the formula found in Tab Sulis: 15. Observations: thick tablet cut with knife. Nail holes miss text. Writer flipped to write on back.				

TabletID	59	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	91 by 48	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 39					
Transcription					
i) quiinuolauerit/siserussilib[-]r/lente[--] ii) totia/animasuam/[-]u[-]nuolau[---]/[---]ameam/[---] /[-] /[-] /quin iii) uolau[---]/[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
qui involaverit /si ser<v>us si lib[e]r/ . . . / Totia(?)/ anima<m> suam/ [q]u<i> <i>nvolav[erit?]/ [---] a<m> meam/ [---]/[---]/ [---]/ qu<i> in/volav[erit]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Who has stolen, whether slave or free... his life... [who] has stolen ... my ... who has stolen					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed in three columns, tablet scored before inscribing to flatten it. Totia could be a personal name. Possibly a curse against the life of the thief. Folded 4 times.					

TabletID	60	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 100	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 10 Adams (1992): 6-8, 15, 20					
Transcription					
Docilianus / Bruceri / deaesantissime/ sulis / devoveoeum[-]ui / caracellammeam / involaveritsi / virsifeminasi / servussiliber / ut[--]umdeasulis / maximoletum / [-] digatneceiso/mnumpermit/tatnecnatosnec / nascentesdo/[--]ccaracallam / meamadtem/plumsuinumi/nis per[-]ulerit					
Reconstructed text					
Docilianus / Bruceri / deae sanctissim<a>e / Suli / devoveo eum [q]ui / caracellam meam / involaverit si / vir si femina si / servus si liber / ut[i] e]um dea Sulis / maximo letum / [a]digat nec ei so/mnum permit/tat nec natos nec / nascentes do/[ne]c caracallam / meam ad tem/plum sui numi/nis per[t]ulerit					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
Docilianus (son) of Brucerus to the most holy goddess Sulis. I curse him who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether man or woman, whether slave or free, that... the goddess Sulis inflict death upon... and not allow him sleep or children now and in the future, until he has brought my hooded cloak to the temple of her divinity.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Only Bath tablet with centred heading like a monumental inscription. First and only instance of nominative case of Sulis. May be the earliest reference to caracalla - hooded cloak that became associated with the emperor. Pierced by at least one nail after inscribing - pierced through text. Practiced hand by effected by surface in parts. Tablet flipped to write on back. Possibly the same hand as CTNW 170 from Uley.					

TabletID	61	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	59 by 85	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 9					
Transcription					
Petio / rove te / Victoria vind / Cun Manici / Cunomolius / Minervina ussor / Cunitius serus Senovara ussor / Lavidendus serus / Mattonius serus / Catinius Exsactoris / fundo eo / Methianu[---] // [---] dono [---] // [---]micus [---] / tpiasv / gineninvsv [-]/[-]igienunus					
Reconstructed text					
Pet<it>io/ {rove} <rogo?> te/ Victoria vind<ex>/{Cun} Manici/ Cunomolius / Minervina u<x>or/ Cunitius ser<v>us/ Senovara u<x>or/ Lavidendus ser<v>us/ Mattonius ser<v>us/ Catinius Exsactoris/ fundo eo/ Methianus// [---] dono// [---ini?]micus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
A petition. (I ask) you Victory (The Avenger?) ... Cunomolius (son?) of Minicus, Minervina (his?) wife, Cunitius (their?) slave, Senovara (his?) wife, Lavidendus (their?) slave, Mattonius (their?) slave, Catinius (son?) of Exsactor... Methianus... I give... // enemy(?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Part of text written in capitals, part in ORC - all with same stilus and probably the same hand. Only Bath tablet to use interpunctuation and word division. Folded 5 times.					

TabletID	62	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	94 by 52	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftMoney
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis: 8 Adams (1992): 14 Gager (1992) n.94					
Transcription					
[-]eaesulidonau[-]ntiolossexquosper[-] / anomin[-]businfrascript[-] / deaeexacturaest/ seniciiausetsaturninussed/etann[-]jolacartapictapersc[-] //an[-]jola / senicianus / saturninus					
Reconstructed text					
[d]eae Suli donau [arge]/nteolos sex quos per[didi]/ A nomin[i]bus infrascript[tis]/ deae exact<io> est/ Senicianus et Saturninus,{sed} et Ann[i]jola carta picta persc[ritpa]// An<n>[i]jola Senicianus Saturninus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
I have given to the goddess Sulis the six silver coins which I have lost. It is for the goddess to exact (them) from the names written below: Senicianus and Saturninus and Anniola. The written page (has) been copied out. Anniola, Senicianus, Saturninus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The only Bath tablet to allude to copying - allusion confirmed by copying errors. Argentiolus is a specific denomination of silver coin under the Tetrarchy. Pierced by a nail through the name 'Anniola' on both sides - planning. Nail pushed through from front. Writing follows slant of top edge, and avoids bumps and casting flaws. Flipped to write on back.					

TabletID	63	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 45	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
DT 105 Tab. Sulis 100 Adams (1992): 18 Tomlin (1994): 103-8					
Transcription					
sipuersipuella/siursifeminaquihoc / inuol[-]uitnoneiremit/taturnisinnocsen/tiamale[---]/[---] // nonillidimitta[-]ur/necsomnumnisiut/euticiamodiumne/bulaemodiumueni/atfumi					
Reconstructed text					
Si puer si puella / si vir si femina qui hoc / invol[a]vit non ei remit/tatur nis<i> inn[o]c{s}en/tiam ale[---]/[---]// non illi dimitta[t]ur/ nec somnum nisi ut / Euticia modium ne/bulae modium veni/at fumi					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Whether boy or girl, whether man or woman, forgiveness is not to be given to the person who has stolen this unless [...] innocence. Forgiveness is not to be given to her, nor shall she sleep, except on condition that Euticia (?) sells a bushel of cloud, a bushel of smoke.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found in 1880 and since lost. Reading done from photographs. Begins with common formulae. Ending unparalleled and meaning obscured. Could be proverbial expression for something worthless or impossible - measuring out equal quantities of cloud and smoke.					

TabletID	64	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 62	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftDomesticObjects		
Latin	Spring, Temple				
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 6					
Transcription					
[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]/[---] // starugulmqm/eerididainam/ee[---]iatdaemi/um[---] / ae[--]nu[---] / aliut[--]e[--]isni / [---]sniegaus					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/stragulum q<ue>m / <p>erdidi anima<m> / [---] / [---] / [---invo-]/lavit... nisi / s[an]g[ine] sua					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... the rug which I have lost, ... (his) life... stolen ... unless with his own blood					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Outer face & inner face corroded so text unclear. Text garbled - anagrams, or dyslexia of scribe. Folded once.					

TabletID	65	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	68 by 99	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 5 Hassall and Tomlin (1986): 432					
Transcription					
[-]ocimedis/[-]erdidimani/ciliaduaqui/illasinvolavi/utmentessua/perdntet/oculossu[-] s/infanuobi/destina					
Reconstructed text					
[D]ocimedis / [p]erddi<t> mani/cilia dua qui / illas involavi<t>/ ut mentes sua<s> / perd[a<t>] et / oculos su[o]s / in fano ubi / destina<t>					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Docimedis has lost two gloves. (He asks) that (the person) who has stolen them should lose his minds [sic] and his eyes in the temple where (she) appoints.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
'Docimedis' in NRC, rest in capitals. Possibly two different hands. Folded once.					

TabletID	66	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	68 by 68	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftTools
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
DT 104 RIB 154 Tab. Sulis 4 Adams (1992): 17 Russell (2006): 363-7					
Transcription					
[---]uqihimmaibliutiualo/[---]nicistauqilcmocauqa/[---]lleat[---]miuqmaetia/[---] anniuleusuerepu/[---]xesunaireusunireu/[---]jessilatsugagunaiti/[---]mocsunainimsutac/[---] llinamreganiuoi					
Reconstructed text					
qu[i] mihi vilbiam in[v]/olavit / sic liqu<esc?>at com[o]<do> aqua / [---] qui eam [invol]/avit/ Velvinna Ex[s]/upereus Verianus Se/verinus Agustalis Com/ itianus / Minianus Catus / Germanill[a] lovina					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
May he who has stolen my brooch (or cutting tool) from me become as liquid as water... who has stolen it. Velvinna, Exsupereus, Verianus, Severinus, A(u)gustalis, Comitianus, Minianus, Catus, Germanilla, lovina.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Letters within each word reversed. Curse and names in different hands. Vilbiam could be mistake for fibulam (brooch), or a Celtic loan-word for a pointed tool, possibly for cutting. Only instance of sympathetic magic at Bath. Mixture of Roman and Celtic names.					

TabletID	67	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	76 by 76	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 3 Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 397					
Transcription					
Brpituenda / Marinus / Memorina					
Reconstructed text					
Br<p>ituenda / Marinus / Memorina					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Brituenda / Marinus / Memorina					
Associated finds					
Notes					
One attested Celtic name, two common cognomina. Thick tablet. Folds not perpendicular to tablet edges. Folded twice.					

TabletID	68	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 37	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 2					
Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 336					
Transcription					
Britiuenda/ Venibelia					
Reconstructed text					
Britiuenda/ Venibelia					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Britiuenda, Venibelia					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Attested Celtic names. All Es and one B are reversed.					

TabletID	69	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	69 by 23	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 17					
Transcription					
Senianus/ Magnus/ M[---]o/ Lucianu[-] Marcellianus/ [-]allianus/ Mu[-]ata Medol[---]/ geacus					
Reconstructed text					
Senianus/ Magnus/ M[---]o/ Lucianu[s] Marcellianus/ [M]allianus/ Mu[t]ata Medol[---]/ geacus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Senianus/ Magnus/ M[---]o/ Lucianu[s] Marcellianus/ [M]allianus/ Mu[t]ata Medol[---]/ geacus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
List of names with Celtic origins.					

TabletID	70	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	61 by 72	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis: 52 Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 338 Adams (1992): 15					
Transcription					
[---]jittas / [---]umnecsanita / [---]sitandiuta / [---]iatquandiuhoc / [---]udsehabuerit / [---] iuirsifeminaet / [---]siancilla					
Reconstructed text					
Ne? perm]jittas/ [somm]um nec sanita/[tem --- n]isi ta<m>diu ta/ [---]iat qua<m>diu hoc/ [ill]ud se habuerit/ [s]i vir si femina et/ [---] si ancilla					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
... you are [not] to permit [... sleep] or health... except for as long as... it shall find itself (?)... whether man or woman and... or slave woman.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
May have been pierced, but uncertain.					

TabletID	71	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	50 by 88	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 65 Hassall and Tomlin (1983): 340 Adams (1992): 15					
Transcription					
minerue/desulidonaui/furemqui/caracallam/meaminuo/lauitsiserus/silibersiba/rosimulier/hocdonu mnon/redematnessi/sangun[-]suo					
Reconstructed text					
Minerv<a>e/ de<ae> Suli donavi/ furem qui/ caracallam/ meam invo/lavit si ser<v>us/ si liber si ba/ro si mulier/ hoc donum non/ redemat nes{s}i/ sangu<i>n[e] suo					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
To Minerva the goddess Sulis I have given the thief who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether slave or free, whether man or woman. He is not to buy back this gift unless with his own blood.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written in a script that combines New and Old Roman Cursive forms - possible transition. Crowding of last four lines typical of dyslexia. Only text to put Minerva before Sulis when identifying the two.					

TabletID	72	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	98 by 53	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 64					
Transcription					
[---]/quiescit[---]litsanitateminuictus/nisieidemlocoipsumpallium/[--]ducat					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/quiescit[---]lit sanitatem invictus/nisi eidem loco ipsum pallium/ [re]ducat					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... rests... health unconquered unless he brings the cloak itself back to the same place.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Five conjoining fragments. After being folded five times it was cut through with a knife. Present text is only last two complete lines.					

TabletID	73	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	83 by 50	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 63				
Transcription	deasuli / siquisbalniarem/cantisseneinu[-]la[-]erit/sisr[-]ussiliber[---] / [---]/ mena[---]				
Reconstructed text	deae Suli/ si qis balniarem/ Cantissen<a>e inv[o]la[v]erit/ si s<e>r[v]us si liber[---]/ [---]/ mena[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation To the goddess Sulis. If anyone has stolen the bathing tunic of Cantissena, whether slave or free...				
Associated finds					
Notes	Name probably male, otherwise unattested. Possibly Celtic. Folding possibly done outwards - doesn't obscure text.				

TabletID	74	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 56	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis: 62					
Hassall and Tomlin (1987): 364					
Transcription					
[---]alidedrepsitorocoe[---]/[---]odmasxapmugasmuell[---]/ meunseidetnacohthusilu[---]/ auresisareb[---]issuresisreb[---]/ [---]rtso (ni)rn[---]lleupiserup[---]/[---]arefed/ [---]smerall (c?)abac/ [---]reupisarebilisaures/[---]refedortsorousni					
Reconstructed text					
[---]eocorotis perdedi la[enam]/ [pa]lleum sagum paxsam do[navi]/ [---] S]ulis ut hoc ante dies novem/ [si li]ber si ser<v>us si [li]bera si serva/ [si] pure si puell[a i]n rostr[o] s[uo]/ defera[t]/ caballeram s[i ser<v>us si liber si]/ serva si libera si puer [si puella]/ in suo rostro defer[at]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I, [---]eocorotis, have lost (my) Italian, Greek, Gallic cloak (and) tunic, (which) I have given... Sulis, that (he) may bring it down in his snout before nine days, [whether] free man or slave man, whether free woman or slave woman, [whether] boy or girl... horse blanket, [whether slave or free, whether] slave woman or free woman, whether boy [or girl], bring down in his snout.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments. Iscribed R to L in reverse sequence of letters line by line, scribe worked from a 'straight' text as can be seen from mistakes. Possibly pierced by nail. Author lists three names for cloaks, must be attempt to define cloak in quasi-legal way that will ensure it is fully identified. 'Before nine days' is a magical time limit attested elsewhere. Folded once.					

TabletID	75	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 46	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 61 Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 337 Adams (1992): 15					
Transcription					
[---]dacsinreuol/ [--]ueuisiuqmue/eu[-]s animefeuisi/alleup euisreup/muitrof am iuq/[---] tireeualou[-]i					
Reconstructed text					
Lovernisca d[on]at / eum qui sive v[ir] / {i}sive femina s[i]ve / puer sive puella / qui mafortium / i[n]volaverit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Lovernisca [gives] him who, whether man or woman, whether boy or girl, <who> has stolen (her) cape.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments. Only British tablet to be written in mirror-image cursive (examples of mirror-image capitals do exist). Written R to L. 'Mafortium' could be a woman's garment, usually a cape or veil.					

TabletID	76	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	59 by 29	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftDomesticObjects
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 60					
Transcription					
ocneadeaesuli/o/mdono[--]bipa/nnumsi quiseum/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Oconeadeae Suli/ M(inervae) dono [ti]bi pa/nnum si quis eum/[--- involavit?]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Oconeadeae to the goddess Sulis M(inerva). I give you a pan(?). If anyone [has stolen] it...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded at least once.					

TabletID	77	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	81 by 36	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftJewellery
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 59					
Transcription					
enicaconquerorti[---] / [---]tanulis[---]dehi[---] / [---]stat[---]am / [---]s[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Enica conqueror ti[bi] / [---]anulis[---] / [---] / [---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I, Enica, complain to you... ring...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments. Enica is attested in Cisalpine Gaul. Possible nail hole.					

TabletID	78	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 51	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 57 Adams (1992): 15					
Transcription					
deae[---]l[---]mine[-]exsib[---] / dona[---]i[-]losqui[---]ban[---] / de[---]uon[---]inelo[---]sunt[---] / sil[---] osim[-]l[-]e[---] / sa[---]					
Reconstructed text					
deae[---]Exsib[uus?]/ dona[vit] i[l]los qui[---]ban[---] / [---]sunt [--- si servus]/ si l[i]ber si bar[o si m[u]l[i]e[r] / sa[nguinem?]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the goddess... Exsibuus has given those who... are... [whether slave] or [free, whether man] or woman...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Seven conjoining fragments. Folded several times.					

TabletID	79	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	31 by 63	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 55					
Transcription					
dacusaga[---]/ aquer[---]/ n[---]t[---]/ recentisimi[---]/ capitularemciui/emsupplic[---]/siser[---]/ somnus[---]/ [---]u[---]/ [---]/ [---]ge[---] / [---]/ [---]/ [---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] / [---] / [---] / recentis<s>imi[---] / capitularem Civi[lis? ---] / em supplic[---] / si ser[vus si liber] / somnus/[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... most recent... Civilis' hat... whether slave or free... sleep...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded twice.					

TabletID	80	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	68 by 48	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 37					
Transcription					
illorumanima/laset[---]/titumus/sedileubisediac/usaquepanum //exsibuus /lothuius /masentius/aesibuas/petiacus					
Reconstructed text					
illorum anima/ las<s>et[ur]/[---]/[---] Sediad/us[---] //Exsibuus/ Lothuius/ Masentius/ Aesibuas/ Petiacus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
May their life be weakened. Sediadus // Exsibuus, Lothuius, Masentius, Aesibuas, Petiacus.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Hole left by nail, pushed through from front to back. Writing avoids nail hole, so may have been written after piercing. Names rare or unattested. Writing effected by casting flaws.					

TabletID	81	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 49	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 53					
Transcription					
d[---]mercurio/d[---]isamualu[---]/din[---]itsanu[---]m/[---]iivilis[---]fueritde/[---]uniia[---]iamt[---] t[---]/trinnifamiliam[---]/uelualisuu[---]/amsuam // markiilinumfamilia[---]/uelorigametfamili[---]/[---] uammoriuassumet/[---]amiliamriouassumet/[---]familiamminouen[---]/etfamiliamsua[---]/[---]m[---]des[---]					
Reconstructed text					
d[eo] Mercurio / d[---]isamualu[---] / din[---]itsan<g?>u[ine]m / [C]ivilis [---] fuerit de/[---]uniia[---] iamt[---]t[---]/ Trinni familiam [---]/ Velvalis(?) [---]famili?/am suam // Markellinum familia[m]/ Velorigam et famili[am]/ [s]uam Morivassum et/ [f]amiliam Riovassum e[t]/ familiam Minoven[---]/ et familiam sua[m] / [---]m[---]des[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the god Mercury... blood... Civilis... shall have been... family of (?)Trinnus... his... Velvalis and(?) his family (?)// Mar(c)el(l)inus (and his) family. Veloriga and her family. Morivassus and (his) family. Riovassus and (his) family. Minoven... and his family...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Only Bath tablet addressed to Mercury and first epigraphic evidence for his cult at Bath, and only one to list names 'and family'. Writing is crowded due to difficult shape of tablet - writer avoided parts with irregular surface. Only one edge folded, text unobscured. Tablet turned to write on back. Folded edge.					

TabletID	82	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 47	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Pseudo-Inscription		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 114					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Some characters recognisable, but no lines of script or sequence of inscription.					

TabletID	83	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 113	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 51 Hassall and Tomlin (1981): 373					
Transcription					
Severa / Dracontius / Spectatus / Innocentius / Senicio / Candidianus / Applicius / Belator / Surilla / Austus / Carinianus					
Reconstructed text					
Severa / Dracontius / Spectatus / Innocentius / Senicio / Candidianus / Applicius / Belator / Surilla / Austus / Carinianus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Severa / Dracontius / Spectatus / Innocentius / Senicio / Candidianus / Applicius / Belator / Surilla / Austus / Carinianus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
List of eleven names, two female. Enemies or suspected thieves. Senicio, Belator, Austus are probably Celtic. Surilla may be Illyrian. The rest are Latin cognomina, some with a 'late-Roman' air.					

TabletID	84	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 33 by 33		Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
	ii) 16 by 30		lead alloy		
Language	Context		Motive	TheftClothing	
Latin	Spring, Temple				
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 49					
Transcription					
i) [---] qu[---] / [---]lar[-]msi[---] / [---]siserus[---] / [---]deasul[---] ii) [---]tcab[---] / [---]emin[---] / [---]r[---]					
Reconstructed text					
qu[i involavi]t cab[al]/lar[e]m si [vir si f]emin[a] / si ser<v>us [si libe]r / [---]dea Sul[is]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation (The person) who [has stolen] (my) horse blanket (?), whether [man or] woman, whether slave [or free]... goddess Sulis.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments and another detached, perhaps from same tablet. Conjectured reading based on possible link.					

TabletID	85	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	49 by 44	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 48					
Transcription					
[---]sagiliano[---] / [---]tequaminfa[---] / [---]lef[---] / [---]er[---] // [---]desimili[---] / [---]dic[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]sagiliano[---] / [an]tequam in fa[no] / [---]lef[---] / [---]er[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... before... in temple...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two fragments, inscribed on both sides.					

TabletID	86	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 36	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 47 Adams (1992): 2-3					
Transcription					
[---]iq[-]er[---] / [---]exxigi / [---]ssiliberhochtulerit / [---]lipermittasinsangune / [---]sui[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[tib?]i q[u]er[or] / [---] ex{x}igi / [si servu]s si liber hoc tulerit / [non il]li permittas in sangu<i>ne / [---]sui[---]					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
... I complain [to you] ... be exacted... [whether slave] or free, has taken this... you are [not] to permit [him] in blood... his...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded twice.					

TabletID	87	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	81 by 111	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 46					
Transcription					
desulimine[-]v/ae eos qui amaliama/trasvendetstilumla[---]/corregenet[-]geet[---]fan[---]/tsuu dea[---] tedo[---]/ etqohabunit[-]setrodeam/etsanuenesua[---]bitquime/vitisetmalu[-]ic[-]em/ docigeniuseane					
Reconstructed text					
de<ae> Suli Mine[r]v/ae eos qui amaliama [---]/ trasvendet stilum la[---] / corregenet[-]geet[---] fan[---] / tsuu dea[---]te do[no? ---] / et qo habunit[-]setrodeam / et san<g>uene sua [---]bit qui me/vit isetmalu[-]ic[-]em/ docigenius et eane					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the goddess Sulis Minerva his, which... pen(?)... goddess... I give to you (?)... and from his blood... which me... Docigenius and...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Made of seven conjoining fragments. Damaged and corrupted, therefore text too garbled for complete restoration. Folded 6 times.					

TabletID	88	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	64 by 41	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead alloy		
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 45 Adams (1992): 1-2; 5					
Transcription					
deasuli[---]/ [---]/ [---]/ isqu[i---] // siseruussilibersiquiscumq[---]/eritnonillipermittasnec/ oculosnecsanitatemnisiscaecitatem/orbitatemquequoaduixerit/nisihaecadfanum[---]					
Reconstructed text					
dea Suli [---]/is qu[i---] // si servus si liber <si> quicumq[ue---]/ erit non illi permittas nec / oculos nec sanitatem nisi caecitatem/ orbitatemque quoad vixerit/ nisi haec ad fanum [---pertulerit?]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the goddess Sulis... whether slave or free,<if> whoever he shall be, you are not to permit him eyes or health unless blindness and childlessness so long as he shall live, unless [he return?] these to the temple.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded once.					

TabletID	89	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 58	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftDomesticObjects
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis. 44 Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 334-5 Adams (1992): 15; 20-21 Gager (1992): n. 95					
Transcription					
cx[-]tiuaeliuqmu[---]n[-]a/silusolpmetts[-]s[--]cino/ resisorabisreilumisonod/ alleupiserupisreibilissuu/ nastirecefcuhiuqte/neaumspiniuusmeug/tadnufum//isr[--] lumisonod/bilissuuressab/ leupisreupisre/[--]rtalmuel/aspimeriuqme/d[-]iualounim/[. .]aineun[-] sue					
Reconstructed text					
a[e]n[um me]um qui levavit [e]xc/onic[tu]s [e]st templo Sulis/ dono si mulier si baro si ser/vus si liber si pure si puella/ et qui hoc fecerit san/gu<in>em suum in ipsu aen/mu fundat // dono si mul[ie]r si/ ba<ro> si servus si lib/er si puer si puel/la eum latr[on]/em qui rem ipsa/m involavi[t] d/eus [i]nvenia[t]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
(The person) who has lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed. I give (him/her) to the temple of Sulis, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, and let him who has done this spill his own blood into the vessel itself. // I give, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, that thief who has stolen the property itself (that) the god may find (him/her.)					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written R to L in reverse sequence, but preserving line sequence. The same reversal is found in Tab Sulis: 62. The scribe worked from a straight text, as can be seen from mistakes. Use of verb 'to lift' is rare and no doubt colloquial. Folded twice.					

TabletID	90	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	108 by 44	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 41 Adams (1992): 12					
Transcription					
[---]/[---]ipuitut[---]rumpretium/ [---]igashocpersanguinemetsa/[---]metsuorumnecanteillospati.r / [---] anducarenecadsellarenec/[---]iushoc[-]bisouerit					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/[---dir]ipuit ut [eo]rum pretium/ [et e]xigas hoc per sanguinem et sa/[nitatem sua]m et suorum nec ante illos pati[a]r/[is bibere? nec m]anducare nec adsellare nec / [meiere? ---]ius hoc [a]b[i]so<l>verit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
...has stolen, that... the price [of them and] exact this through [his] blood and [health] and (those) of his family, and not allow them [to drink or] eat or defecate or [urinate] before he has... [releas]ed this.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Missing portion at top of tablet likely contained address to Sulis and statement of what had been stolen. Use of medical term 'deficate' likely a literary euphemism - deliberately didn't use 'vulgar' language.					

TabletID	91	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	92 by 58	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Perjury
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 40					
Transcription					
quicalamaea/negatsanguine/[---]inen[---]/de[-]t[---]at[---]					
Reconstructed text					
qui calam<n>aea<m>/ negat sanguine/ [---]/de[s]t[in]at					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
[Let him]who denies (making) false accusation (?) . . . blood . . .(she) appoints.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
calamaea could be an error for calumnia(m) - false accusation. This would be evidence of an 'ordeal spring' role for the spring of Sulis, a way of testing oaths. Folded 6 times.					

TabletID	92	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	96 by 149	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftMoney
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 54					
Transcription	B+ // [---]at[-]ad[-]itamo[---]/conq[-]aer[. .]tibisulisarminia/[ut]uerecundinumter[---]tic[---]umas/ quiargentoilosduosmihi[---]/nandice[---]reuauitno.[---]l[---]er/ mittasnecsedereneciacere[---]c/[---] a[-]bularen[---]/somn[---]sanitatem[---]m/quantociusconsumasetiter[-]m/det[-]aestact[---]nus/[---] mensi[-]ion[---]/[---]nperueniat				
Reconstructed text	B+ // [---]/conq[u]{a}er[or] tibi, Sulis, Arminia/ <ut> Verecundinum Ter[en]ti(?) c[ons]umas/ qui argentiolos duos mihi[---]/ [---]revavit no[n il]l[i] p[er]mittas nec sedere nec iacere [ne]c/ [---] a[m] bulare n[ec]/ somn[um nec] sanitatem [illu?]m/ quantocius consumas et inter[u]m/[---]/[---]/ [no]n perveniat				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... I Arminia, complain to you, Sulis, [that] you consume Verecundinus (son of) Terentius, who has [stolen...] two silver coins from me. You are not to permit [him] to sit or lie [or... or] to walk [or] (to have) sleep [or] health, [since] you are to consume (him) as soon as possible; and again... [not] to reach...					
Associated finds					
Notes	Petitioner's name is female form of Arminius. Thief named with patronymic, unusual but may have been known from circumstances of theft or fraud.				

TabletID	93	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	133 by 47	Material	tin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Pseudo-Inscription		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 112					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Inscribed on both sides, with some letters identifiable. Folded 6 times.				

TabletID	94	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	39 by 38	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 50				
Transcription	Ddeae[---]/uictorin[---]/[---]mesp[---]/[---]it[---]				
Reconstructed text	D{d}eae [Suli---] / Victorin[---]/[---]/[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	95	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 51	Material	tin	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Pseudo-Inscription		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 121					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Uninscribed , but one side covered in shallow straight cuts. Some may connect to form 5-pointed stars.				

TabletID	96	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 81	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 77				
Transcription	[---]/ cupit[--]a[---]/auius[---]				
Reconstructed text	Cupit[i]a[nus ---] / [---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation Cupitianus...				
Associated finds					
Notes	Two conjoining fragments, heavily corroded. Folded twice.				

TabletID	97	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	17 by 19	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 76					
Transcription					
[---]iquas/[---]tug[-]ius/[---]iiRulu/[---]ui[---]/[---]e[-]rnfi					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written L to R so not reversed text. Meaning obscure.					

TabletID	98	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 34	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 75				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Unreadable due to wear and corrosion. Letter forms distorted and ambiguous.				

TabletID	99	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	44 by 29	Material	lead alloy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 74				
Transcription	o[---]ot[---]/ domx				
Reconstructed text	o[r]o t[e---]/ dom(ina)x				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation I beg you, lady...				
Associated finds					
Notes	DOMX also found on a CT from Amelie-les-Bains - see CTNW 253				

TabletID	100	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	22 by 22	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 73					
Transcription					
[---]uen[---]/nonan[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]uen[iat?---]/non an[te?---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	101	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	27 by 20	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 72					
Transcription					
... / . .].ori.a[/tacituri/ ...					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
tacituri: being silent in the future.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	102	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 64	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 71					
Transcription					
[---]/[---]/ [---]a[---]quisuib[---]/ [---]ise[---]uss[---]/[---]l[---]siuirsi[-]em[---]/[---]discebit[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] / [---] / [---]quis vib[---] / ---s]i se[rv]us s[i] / [liber?] si vir si [f]em[ina---] / [---]discebit[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... whether slave or [free]... whether man or woman... will learn (?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Reading of 'discebit' is uncertain, and if correct it is a vulgar confusion between conjugations. Folded once.					

TabletID	103	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	29 by 22	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 70					
Transcription					
mineru[---]/ amcocus[---]/ lumpell[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Minerv[a---] / [---] / [---]lum pell[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Cocus is a well attested Celtic name, but the reading is uncertain and the sentence structure makes it unlikely.					

TabletID	104	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	24 by 27	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 69					
Transcription					
[---]ia/[---]deasuli[---]/[---]nemd[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]ia/[---]dea Sulis[---] / [---]nem d[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
...goddess Sulis...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments.					

TabletID	105	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	40 by 24	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 68					
Transcription					
[---]insacl[---]/[---]hocinuola[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] / [---]hoc invola[vit?] / [---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	106	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	21 by 32	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 67					
Transcription					
necs[---]/n[---]/t[---]					
Reconstructed text					
nec s[omnum?] / n[ec sani?]/t[atem?]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
...neither sleep nor health...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	107	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	79 by 39	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 79					
Transcription					
	[---]/resmca[---]esilaq[---]mali/egnenu[-]a[-]iti[---]				
Reconstructed text					
	[---]/ res m<e?>a[---]/[---] a[v]iti[us ---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Possibly personal names. Folded 4 times.				

TabletID	108	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	24 by 16	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 56					
Transcription					
[---]pinetionis soruim[---]/[---]sta fraudem[---] / [---]s[-]ab[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]pinetionis soruim[---]/[---]sta fraudem[---] / [---]s[-]ab[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... wrong...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments.					

TabletID	109	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	41 by 31	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 80					
Transcription					
	[---]l[---]/[---]doil[---]/[---]mmoda[---]				
Reconstructed text					
	[---]l[---]/[---]doil[---]/[---]mmoda[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	110	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	27 by 29	Material	lead alloy	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography	Tab. Sulis 43				
Transcription	[---]pu[---]/[---]donoti[---]/[---]alliu[---]				
Reconstructed text	[---]pu[---] / [---]dono ti[bi---] / [---p]alliu[m---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation ... I give you... cloak...				
Associated finds					
Notes	Inscribed with a practiced hand.				

TabletID	111	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	38 by 29	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead alloy			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 42					
Transcription					
[---]a[-]e[-]na[---]/[---]fecitd[---]/[---]nfanosu[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]a[-]e[-]na[---]/[qui?---] fecit dono[---]/[---]n fano Su[lis---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... has done ... given... in the temple of Sulis					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	112	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	9 by 13	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 29					
Transcription					
[---]/ [---]n[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/ [---]n[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	113	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	19 by 19	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 28					
Transcription					
[---]er[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	114	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	130 by 150		Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead alloy		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 27					
Transcription					
[---]uendi					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Presumably a Celtic man's name in the genative. Still folded.					

TabletID	115	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	11 by 10	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 26					
Transcription					
[---]ser[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]ser[vus?---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
...slave...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	116	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 25					
Transcription					
[---]/se[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/se[---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	117	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	34 by 22	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Spring, Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 24					
Transcription					
[---]pita[---] / [---]dafalsu[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]pita[---] / [---]da falsu[m?---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	118	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Bath
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	38 by 40	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Spring, Temple			
Bibliography					
Tab. Sulis 23					
Transcription					
	[---]nus /[---]u[---]/ [---]laui[---]				
Reconstructed text					
	[---]nus /[---]u[---]/ [---]invo]laui[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	...has stolen...				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	119	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Brandon
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	57 by 40	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	River	Motive	TheftCooking Vessels
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1994): 293-5					
Transcription					
seraduasorisduas/suserussiancelasili/libertasimlie/sibaropopiafera/eaenecfurtumfece/redominoneptuno/corliloparetaior					
Reconstructed text					
seraduasorisduas/ s<i> ser<v>us si anc<i>l<l>a si li<bertus si> / liberta si m<u>lie[r] / si baro popia<m> fer<re>a<m> / eaenec furtum fece/r<it> domino Neptuno cor<u>lo pare<n>ta<tu>r					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation (Whoever)... whether male slave or female slave, whether freedman or freedwoman, whether woman or man... has committed the theft of an iron pan(?), he is sacrificed(?) to the Lord Neptune with hazel(?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by metal detectorist. Sacrifice with hazel could be an allusion to ritual execution: cf. Tac. Germ. 12.1					

TabletID	120	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Brean Down
EarliestPossibleDate	340	LatestPossibleDate	390		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 57	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Beach, Temple	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography	Hassall and Tomlin (1986): 433-5				
Transcription	[---]nc[---]b[---]/cariculaquae[---]er/u[---]libersiba[---]s[---]er/quiue[-]aut[-]jeus[---]omin/a[---] eamaedisamfacias/sic[-]lladim[-]tsanguin[--]uolier/e[--]antiss[--]sibar[-]simu/[---]n[---]b[---]				
Reconstructed text	[--- dono? ti?]b[i? ---]/ caricula quae[amisi? si s]er/<v>u[s si] liber si ba[ro] s[i muli]er / qui [--- d] omin/a [---] facias / sic [i]lla <re>dim[a]t sa<n>guin[e s]uo / [---]si bar[o] si mu/lier[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation [. . .I give to you] the caricula which [I have lost. Whether] slave or free, whether man or [woman] who... Lady (?)... you are to make redeem(?) them thus with his own blood... whether man or woman...				
Associated finds					
Notes	Tablet found on the beach below a Roman temple site by metal detectorist. No CTs found when temple excavated, temple was of unknown dedication. Caricula is unknown - perhaps a carrying device, from carricum.				

TabletID	121	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Broomhill
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 55	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1994): 296-7					
Transcription					
ssiiuussiiibib[---]/iurauitsu[---]uli/t[---]dimitte/[---]i[-]ficumdm/tuuindi[-]a[-] // antedies/nouisipa[-]a[-] ussi/mil[-]s[---]/sv[-]tuit					
Reconstructed text					
s<i> se<r>vus si [l]ib[e]<r> [qu]/i [f]uravit su[st]uli/t [ne ei] dimitte / [male]fic<i>um d<u>m / tu vindi[c]a[s] // ante dies nov[e]<m> si pa/[g]a[n]us si / mil[e]s [qui] / su[s]tu<l>it					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
(whoever) has stolen (it), taken (it), whether slave or free, do not forgive him his evil-doing until you punish him within nine days, whether civilian or soldier, (whoever) has taken (it).					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by metal detector, exact context unknown. Written in mirror-image capitals. Formula 'whether civilian or soldier' unique in CTs.					

TabletID	122	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Caerleon
EarliestPossibleDate	54	LatestPossibleDate	150		
Dimensions (mm)	83 by 76	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography					
RIB 323 dfx 3.6/1					
Transcription					
domnane/mesisdoti/bipalleum/etgalliculas/quitulitnon/redimatni/v[-]tasanguine/su[-]					
Reconstructed text					
Dom<i>na Ne/mesis do ti/bi pallium / et galliculas / qui <sus>tulit non / redimat ni<si> / v[i]ta sanguine su[o]					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation Lady Nemesis, I give to you a cloak and pair of boots. Let him who stole them not redeem himself except with his life, his blood.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed on an ansate plaque, possibly for display.					

TabletID	123	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Caistor St. Edmund
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	105 by 65	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing, TheftDomesticObjects, TheftJewellery, TheftMoney, TheftOtherSpecific
Latin		River			
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 408					
Transcription	anase[---]/eveitvroc[---]/siusfasciaetarmi[---]/scapolarespectr[---]/cufiaduasocriasxvas/astagneasi mascelstime/minasipuer sipulladuas/ocrisivullerisfactaesang/suoutllurequeratatneptus/eamictusecufiaarmlla[---]/ *xvcapeolaretuncsanguine/ fasciamtenetfure/cartassratioe				
Reconstructed text	a Nase[---]/ eve<h>it Vroc[---]/sius fascia<m> et armi[lla]/s cap<t>olare spectr[um(?)] / cufia<m> duas ocias x vas / a stagnea si mascel si <f>e/mina si puer si pu<e>lla duas / ocri<as> si vull<u>eris factae sang<uine> / suo ut <i>llu<m> requerat{at} Nept<un>us / e<t> amictus e<t> cufia <et> arm<i>lla[e---]/ denarii xv cape<t>olare tunc sanguin<e> / fasciam tenet fur e / carta s<upra> s<cripta> ratio<n>e				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Vroc...sius carries off from Nase... a wreath, bracelets, a cap, a mirror (?), a head-dress, a pair of leggings, ten pewter vessels, whether he be man or woman, boy or girl. If you want the pair of leggings, they shall become yours at the price of his blood, so that he, Neptune, shall seek him out, and a cloak and head-dress and bracelets, fifteen denarii, the cap. Then the thief holds onto the wreath at the cost of his blood in accordance with the transaction on the above written sheet.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Found during field walking on the banks of the river Tas, west of the Roman town. Text written carelessly, with letters missed, transposed or repeated in error.				

TabletID	124	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Chesterton
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	56 by 32	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Fort	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography					
RIB 243 Taylor and Collingwood (1921): 239 Hassall and Tomlin (1989): 345					
Transcription					
[---]sthaus[---]/[---]dalmaticum [---]/[---]nisi[iii][---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]sthaus[---]/[---]dalmaticum [---]/[---]nisi[iii][---] Overlies a cursive text, in which read: [D?]iogen[i]s dalmatic[um?]					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
...sethaus [has taken] the tunic... cursive: ...the tunic of Diogenis...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded once.					

TabletID	125	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Clothall
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	121 by 102	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
RIB 221 Collingwood in Westell (1931): 290-3 Collingwood and Taylor (1931): 248 Wright (1952): 103					
Transcription					
suteu/seinasodomouq/rutacifengis/atcifiedaticat					
Reconstructed text					
uetus / quomodo sanies / signeficatur / Tacita deficta					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
Tacita, hereby accursed, is labelled old like putrid gore.					
Associated finds					
A light-buff cordon urn, a globular vase and a samian platter.					
Notes					
Pierced by five nails, four survive. Also holes for thin lead wire, some of which survives. Inscription written right to left and partly disguised by unusual letter forms.					

TabletID	126	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Dodford
EarliestPossibleDate	150	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	89 by 72	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Unknown			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (2009): 347					
Transcription					
[---]mneui[---]cl[---]nicm/[---]pluminono[---]telo[---]at[---]su[---]s[---]silomo[---]/cui[---]rliomi[---] q/oploulnsllm[---]na/ pocciapuoiico[---]tcs/marinan[---]rt[---]/masus[---]msaso/si s[---]jsnsus/[---]ns					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by metal detectorist. Apparently personal name in line 7 (Marina), but text as a whole is not Latin. Perhaps spoken Celtic transliterated.					

TabletID	127	Province	Britannia	FindSite	East Farleigh
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	100 by 68	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (2012): 402-3					
Transcription					
[---]NV (inverted)[---] /ΛTINED (inverted)[---] / S[-]CRATV (inverted)[---] / [---]ΛCIR[-]S (reversed) / [---]LILE (inverted)[---] / [---]OTI[---] [---]ECTV[---] // CVNDAC (inverted and reversed)[---] / CVNOARITUS / [---]V[-]RIVAM (inverted) / ONERAT (inverted and reversed)[---] /MERORIAN[---] / CONSTITVTV[-] / CONSTAN[-]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]an[---] /ati{n}ed[us] / s[a]cratu[s--] / [---]sacri[u]s / [---]lile[---] / [---]oti[---] / [atr]ectu[s---] // cundac[us---] / cunoaritus / [---]u[-]riuam / onerat[us---] /memorian[us] / constitutu[s] / constan[s]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
[---] Atiden[us], S[a]cratu[s], ?[S]acir[u]s, [---], ?[Atr]ectu[s]; // Cundac[us], Cunoaritus, [---] , Onerat[us], Memorian[us], Constitutu[s], Constan[s]					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Format intentionally elaborate (reversing and inverting), either to make names harder to read and thus more secret, or to 'confuse' the lives of the persons named. Mixture of Roman and Celtic names.					

TabletID	128	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Farley Heath
EarliestPossibleDate	250	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	125 by 17	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Embezzlement
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (2004): 335-6					
Transcription					
deodauis/[---]/[---]/[---]senisli/senni[---]mdu/[---]/[---]/[---]alliaris/atcan[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]/*IIII milibus/[---]/[---]/elius se[---]/[---]/[---]/[---]us[---]					
Reconstructed text					
deo daviis. . . Seni{s}lis / Senni[---]/[---] // (denariis) IIII milibus/[---]/[Aur]elius se[---]/[---]/[---]/[---] us[---]					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
To the god... Senilis (son of?) Sennus... // (at) four thousand denarii... Aurelius Se...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
May be a curse tablet addressed to the local god (unnamed), with reference to 4000 denarii. Possibly theft or embezzlement? Folded twice.					

TabletID	129	Province	Britannia	FindSite	(Gloucestershire Or Avon)
EarliestPossibleDate	150	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	137 by 104	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftTools		
Latin	Temple, Unknown				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1991): 293-5					
Transcription					
[---]aturdeomerc[---]/q[-]isinuolaueritc[---]lam/[-] icinumneconaliaminutalia/tocitamisibarosimuliersipuel[-]a/ sipuersiingenuussiseruusn[-]nan[-] e/eumlasetquammimbrapimanudi/emmortisconcrutiate[-]mquq[--]se/curam[-] nnorisinuolauitea[---]/eaprneconetququires[-]ictor[-]a[-]/inuolauerit					
Reconstructed text					
[don]atur deo Merc[urio si] / q[u]is involaverit c[---]lam / [r?]icin<n>um nec non alia minutalia / Tocitami(?) si baro si mulier si puel[l]a / si puer si ingenuus si servus n[o]n an[t]e / eum laset quam mimbra <ra?>pi manu <ad> di/em mortis concrutiat e[u]m qu{q[u]}[i] se/curam [i]nnoris involavit ea[---]/aeapr nec non et qu{qu}l res [p]ictor[i]a[s](?) / involaverit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Given to the god Mercury, whoever has stolen... and other sundries... whether man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether free-born or slave. May (the god) not allow him rest before... limbs(?)... by hand (?)... day of death... may (the god) torment him who has stolen the axe(?) of... and who has stolen the writing(?) things.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
No provenance. Location based on similarities to Bath and Uley tablets. Nail holes at edges suggest display. The writer seems to have been copying formulas ungrammatically and without comprehension.					

TabletID	130	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Hamble Estuary
EarliestPossibleDate	350	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	84 by 128	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftMoney
Latin		Beach, River			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1997): 455-8					
Transcription					
domineneptune/tbdiioominemqui/[---]ldmuinuolau[---]mu/conietargenti[---] s/sexidedononomia/quidecepsimascelsi/ feminasipuuersipuue/llaideodonotibiniske/etneptunouitamuali/tudinemsanguemeius/quiconsciuf ueriseius/deceptionisanimus/quihocinuolauitet/quiconsciufueritut/eumdecipiasfurem/quihocinuol auitsanguem/eiusconsumasetde/cipias domiin[-]ne[-]/tune					
Reconstructed text					
domine Neptune / t<i>b<i> d<o>no <h>ominem qui / [so]<i>dum involav[it] Mu/coni et argenti[olo]s / sex ide<o> dono nomi<n>a / qui decepit si mascel si / femina si pu{u}er si pu{u} e/lla ideo dono tibi Niske / et Neptune vitam vali/tudinem sangu<in>em eius / qui conscius fueris eius / deceptionis animus / qui hoc involavit et / qui conscius fuerit ut / eum decipias furem / qui hoc involavit sangu<in>em / ei{ij}us consumas et de/cipias domin[e] Ne[p]/tune					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Lord Neptune, I give you the man who has stolen the solidus and six argentioli of Muconius. So I give the names who took them away, whether male of female, whether boy or girl. So I give you, Niskus, and to Neptune the life, health, blood of him who has been privy to that taking- away. The mind which stole this and which has been privy to it, may you take it away. The thief who stole this, may you consume his blood and take it away, Lord Neptune.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by a metal detector. Niskus could be a Celtic water god, possibly related to Niska - a water nymph addressed in the Amelie-le-Bains tablets (Tab 285-91).					

TabletID	131	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Hockwold-cum-Wilton
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	25 by 30	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography	Tomlin (2008a): 380-1				
Transcription	litteras h[-]s [-]olexer[--][---]um in murteum ne ante loduntur ne ilence[--]/e[---]entur [-]ueons[-] et bea[-]r [-]urtum et accusatore[---]nege[-]murtum/celianus in furtumre[---]				
Reconstructed text	litteras h[a]s [a]dolexer[--] [--]um in <f>{m}urt<um> eum ne ante loduntur ne ilence[--] / e[xig] entur [-]ueons[-] et bea[-]r [f]urtum et accusatore[m--] nege[t] [f]urtum / C<a>elianus in furtum fe[ci]t				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation ...these letters... against him theft... lest they are praised before... they be exacted... theft and accuser... deny theft... Caelianus made against theft...				
Associated finds	Two other CTs found in same area of settlement - Brit. 18 (1994): 293-6 Traces of the iron nail which pierced the tablet after folding.				
Notes	Found by metal detector so exact context unknown, but found in the area of a known temple site. Carelessly formed, mirror-image capitals written R to L. Caelianus is uncommon, but occurs in Britain borne by a legionary legate (RIB 2034). Folded 4 times.				

TabletID	132	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Kelvedon
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	114 by 48	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftMoney		
Latin	House				
Bibliography					
Wright (1958): 150					
Transcription					
quicumqueresvareniin/volaveritsimulrersimascel/sangunosuosolvat/etpecuniequamexesu/erit/m ercuriodonaetvirtutis					
Reconstructed text					
quicumque res Vareni in/volaverit si mul<i>{r}er si mascel / sangu<i>no suo solvat / et pecuni<a>e quam ex{e}sv/erit Mercurio dona<t> et Virtuti s(acra)					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Whoever has stolen the property of Varenus, whether woman or man, in his own blood and from the money which he has consumed let him pay gifts to Mercury and sacred offerings to Virtue.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found in an oven.					

TabletID	133	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Leicester
EarliestPossibleDate	150	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	123 by 69	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	House	Motive	TheftMoney
Bibliography					
Tomlin and Hassall (2006): 407-10 Tomlin (2008b) ZPE: 207-18 Tomlin (2009): 327-8					
Transcription					
u[---]abhereoilisresirr/qu[---] rgentiossabinianifura/veruntidestsimiliscupituslochita/hosdeussiderabitinhocseptiso/ nioetpetoutvitamsuamper/dantantediesseptem					
Reconstructed text					
u[---]abhereo ilis res ir r / qu[i a]rgentios Sabiniani fura/verunt id est Similis Cupitus Lochita / hos deus siderabit in hoc septiso/nio et peto ut vitam suam per/dant ante dies septem					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
Those who have stolen the silver coins of Sabinianus, that is Similis, Cupitus, Lochita, a god will strike down in this septisonium, and I ask that they lose their life before seven days.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The god is not explicitly named, may be a collective reference to the seven gods of the septisonium without specifying one. A septisonium was a monumental façade incorporating statues of Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn - seven planetary deities & days of the week - also with a public fountain.					

TabletID	134	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Leicester
EarliestPossibleDate	150	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	78 by 201	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	House	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography					
Tomlin and Hassall (2006): 407-10 Tomlin (2008) ZPE: 207-18 Tomlin (2009): 327-8					
Transcription					
daeomagloodeuumquifrudum/fecitdepadoioodelaeumqui/furtumdepadaoiumsaum/quisaumserva ndiinvola/vit/s[---]vester riomandus/s[---]nilis venustinus/vorvena/calaminus/felicianus/rufaedo/vendicina/ingenuinus/iuventius/ alocus/cennosus/ germanus/senedo/cunovendus/regalis/niella / [[S[---] ianus]]/doantaenonumdiem/ illumtollat/quisauminvolaui/servandi					
Reconstructed text					
d{a}eo Maglo <do> eu{u}m qui fr<a>udum / fecit de pa<e>d<ag>o<g>io <do> el{a}eum qui / furtum <fecit> de pa<e>da<g>o<g>ium {sa<g>um} / qui sa{g}um Servandi invola/vit / S[il]vester Ri<g>omandus / S[e]nilis Venustinus / Vorvena / Calaminus / Felicianus / Ruf{a}edo / Vendicina /Ingenuinus / luventius / Alocus / Cennosus / Germanus / Senedo / Cunovendus / Regalis / Ni<g>ella / [[S[enic]ianus]] / do ant{a}e nonum diem / illum tollat / qui sa<g>um involauit / Servandi					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
I give to the god Maglus him who did wrong from the slave-quarters; I give him who (did) theft <the cloak> from the slave-quarters; who stole the cloak of Servandus. Silvester, Ri(g) omandus, Senilis, Venustinus, Vorvena, Calaminus, Felicianus, Rufedo, Vendicina, Iugenuinus, Iuventius, Alocus, Cennosus, Germanus, Senedo, Cunovendus, Regalis, Ni(g)ella, Senicianus (deleted). I give (that the god Maglus) before the ninth day take away him who stole the cloak of Servandus.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Neatly inscribed by a practiced hand. Maglus is hitherto unattested in Britain, although there is a dedication from Aquitania (CIL 13.915). The list of names is probably a roll-call of all the slaves of the household - Servandus no doubt suspected all his colleagues. Names a mixture of Latin and Celtic. Nine days is the usual deadline in British CTs.					

TabletID	135	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Leintwardine
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	97 by 57	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Bath House, Fort			
Bibliography					
Wright (1969): 241					
Transcription					
Carinus / Similis / Consortius / Comes Masloriu[-] / Senorix / Cunittus / Cunittus Cunedecan/es / Ceanatis Tiberin[--]					
Reconstructed text					
Carinus / Similis / Consortius / Comes Masloriu[s] / Senorix / Cunittus / Cunittus Cunedecan/es / Ceanatis Tiberin[us]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Carinus / Similis / Consortius / Comes Masloriu[s] / Senorix / Cunittus / Cunittus Cunedecan/es / Ceanatis Tiberin[us]					
Associated finds					
Notes					
A list of names.					

TabletID	136	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Leintwardine
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 23	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Bath House, Fort			
Bibliography					
Wright (1969): 241					
Transcription					
Enestinus / Motius / Comitinus					
Reconstructed text					
Enestinus / Motius / Comitinus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Enestinus / Motius / Comitinus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
List of names.					

TabletID	137	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	138	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 50	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
	Hassall and Tomlin (2003): 361				
Transcription					
	plautiusnobilial/nusa[-]relsatur/ninusdomitiaatti/olaetsiquiafuere				
Reconstructed text					
	Plautius Nobilia/nus A[u]rel(ius) Satur/ninus Domitia Atti/ola et si qui a<uf>ere				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	Plautius Nobilianus, Aurelius Saturninus, Domitia Attiola, and any who were absent.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Found under 1 Poultry, City of London. Folded twice.				

TabletID	138	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	54	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	121 by 76	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
RIB 6 Collingwood and Taylor (1928): 213					
Transcription					
tegnatius/tyranusdeficus/estet/pcicereiusfelix/defictuset//tegnatius/tyranusdefictus/estet/pcicereiusfelix					
Reconstructed text					
T(itus) Egnatius / Tyran<n>us defic<t>us / est et / P(ublius) Cicereius Felix / defictus e<s>t //					
T(itus) Egnatius / Tyran<n>us defictus / est et / P(ublius) Cicereius Felix					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Titus Egnatius Tyrannus is cursed, and Publius Cicereius Felix is cursed. Titus Egnatius Tyrannus is cursed, and Publius Cicereius Felix.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found in 1928 under a bank on Princes Street. Multiple nail holes.					

TabletID	139	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	160	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 105	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Amphitheatre			
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (2003): 362					
Tomlin and Hassall (2005): 496					
Transcription					
[-]eaedea[--]e dono/capitularemetfas/[-]iamminusparte/tertiasiquishocfeci[-]/[-]ip[-]ersi[-]uellas[-]/[-]er[---]s[---]/ don[---]necp[--]/me[--]v[---]possit					
Reconstructed text					
[d]eae Dea[na]e dono / capitularem et fas/[c]iam minus parte / tertia si quis hoc feci[t] / [s]i p[u]er si [p]uella s[i] / [s]er[vus] s[i] liber / don[o eum] nec p[er] / me [vi]v[ere] possit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I give to the goddess Deana (my) headgear and band less one-third. If anyone has done this, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, I give him, and through me let him be unable to live.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found in the arena drain at Guildhall Yard. Seems to be the first British curse tablet addressed to Diana, and first written evidence for her cult in London (although pictorial representations are known.) Diana, sometimes identified with Nemesis, particularly associated with gladiatorial games and amphitheatres.					

TabletID	140	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	72 by 77	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Pit/Well	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Hassall and Tomlin (1992): 309-10				
Transcription	aitram/evisanitrām				
Reconstructed text	Martia / sive Martina				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
	Martia or Martina				
Associated finds	A coin of Constantius II				
Notes	Individual letters and words are retrograde.				

TabletID	141	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	54	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	178 by 121	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
RIB 7 Collingwood (1935): 225 dfx 3.14/1					
Transcription					
trentiamariadeficoet/illeusvitaetmetem/etmemoriam[-] tiocipe/rapulmonesintermxixi/tafatacogitatamemor/ iamscinopossittloqui/sicretasitnecquesti[-] ita/[-]merepossitneque[-]/[---]cl[-]udo					
Reconstructed text					
Tretia<m> Maria<m> defi<g>{c}o et / illeus vita<m> et me<n>tem / et memoriam [e]t iocine/ra pulmones interm{x}ix{i}/ta fata cogitata memor/iam sci no<n> possit{t} loqui / <quae> sicreta si<n>t neque sinita / [a]ma<e>re possit neque [-] / [---]cl[a]udo					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
I curse Tretia Maria and her life and mind and memory and liver and lungs mixed up together, and her words, thoughts and memory; thus may she be unable to speak what things are concealed, nor be able to love, nor... finish					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found below Telegraph Street, Moorgate. Ripped from a building before being inscribed and pierced seven times.					

TabletID	142	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	69 by 95	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		River			
Bibliography					
	Hassall and Tomlin (1987): 360-3				
Transcription					
	tibi rogo metu/nusumuendic/asdeistenu/menemeuen/dicasantequ/duendieno/uemrogote/m(invert ed)etunusutu/ miuend[-]cas/antequo/uendindue/m //itnarapux/eliuataseleiulis/ociulissutarapusx/sulemsutiuael/sutados/ibiticurep/ sunitnas/ sute[---] gam/inotnasimidipa/aisausutnas/suisarausun/sutad				
Reconstructed text					
	tibi rogo Metu/nus u<t> m<e> vendic/as de iste nu/mene me ven/dicas ante q<u>o/d ven<iant> die<s> no/vem rogo te / Metunus ut <t>u / mi vend[i]cas / ante q<u>o[d] / ven<iat> di<es> n[o] ve/m // <E>x<s>uparanti<us>/ Silviola Sat<t>avil<a> / <E>xsuperatus Silvico/lae Avitus Melus/so datus <est> / pervici tibi / Santinus Mag[---]etus / apidimis Antoni<us> San<c>tus Vas<s>ia/nus Varasius / datus <est>				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	I ask you Neptune, that you avenge me on this name (?), that you avenge me before nine days come. I ask you, Neptune, that you avenge me before nine days come. Exsuperantius, Silviola, Sattavilla, Exsuperatus (son of) Silvicola, Avitus, Melussus is given... I have prevailed upon you (?)... San(c)tinus, Mag...etus... Antonius, Sanctus, Vassianus, Varasius is given.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	The letter S on side 'a' and all the letters on side 'b' are reversed in mirror image. Sequence of letters on side 'b' is reversed, written R to L. Metunus could be a Vulgar pronunciation for Neptunus (British Celtic had no -pt-) Solecisms and spelling/grammar mistakes.				

TabletID	143	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	250	LatestPossibleDate	364		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 42	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (2003): 363					
Transcription					
vin mo/mubocimi vi//sunxiia/arotai					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found in the arena drain at Guildhall Yard, City of London. Tablet was within drain fill from after it had gone out of use. Text is uncertain in reading and interpretation.					

TabletID	144	Province	Britannia	FindSite	London
EarliestPossibleDate	250	LatestPossibleDate	364		
Dimensions (mm)	88 by 62	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Hassall and Tomlin (2003): 364				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Found in residual material dumped over disused arena. Tablet too brittle to be unfolded and read, although apparently inscribed on both sides. Folded once.				

TabletID	145	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Lydney Park
EarliestPossibleDate	54	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	64 by 79	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftJewellery		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
RIB 306 CIL 7.140 Adams (1998): 235					
Transcription					
devo/nodentisilvanus/anilumperdedit/demediampartem/donavitnodenti/interquibusnomen/senici aninollis/petmittassanita/temdonecperfera/usquetemplum[--]/dentis					
Reconstructed text					
Devo / Nodenti Silvanus / anil<l>um perdedit / demediam partem / donavit Nodenti / inter <eos> quibus nomen / Seniciani no<n> <i>llis / petmittas sanita/tem donec perfera<t> / usque templum [No]/dentis					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
To the god Nodens: Silvanus has lost his ring and given half (its value) to Nodens. Among those who are called Senicianus do not allow health until he brings it to the temple of Nodens.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Possibly (but unlikely) related to a gold ring found at Silchester, inscribed Senicianus (CIL 7.1305).					

TabletID	146	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Malton
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	35 by 27	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin, Pseudo-Inscription		Unknown			
Bibliography					
	Hassall and Tomlin (1971): 302				
Transcription					
	ISARSES/COVIS/AEEO/CECEX//ISVXOSIS				
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
	<p>No interpretation has been found. May have been cut by a semi-literate or designed as a cryptogram.</p> <p>Found in the vicus south of Malton fort.</p>				

TabletID	147	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Marlborough
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	72 by 49	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftLivestock
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
	Hassall and Tomlin (1999): 378-9				
Transcription					
	[---]do[---]/martia[-]vniseaid[---]/[---]eculiumetsecur[---]/tidissee[---] illumiume[---]/rogatgeniumtuum/dom[---]/ utquampr[---] mres[---]/neceantperannosnovemn[---]/permittas/necsedere[---]/[---]mimbric[---]				
Reconstructed text					
	do / Marti a[-]vnisea id [est? ---] / [---] equuleum <m>eum et secur[im ---]/tidisse e[t ---]illum iume[ntum] / rogat genium tuum dom[ine] / ut quampr[imu]m re[sideant?] / nec eant per annos novem n[on eis] / permittas nec sedere [nec---] / [---]mimbric[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	I give(?). To the god Mars... my pony and... that beast... asks your Genius, Lord, that they [stop] as soon as possible and do not go for nine years. Do not allow [them] to sit [or to...]...				
Associated finds					
	Scattered Roman pottery and coins				
Notes					
	Found by metal detector. First tablet addressed to a god's genius				

TabletID	148	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Old Harlow
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	54 by 72	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Love
Latin		Pit/Well			
Bibliography					
	Wright and Hassall (1973): 325				
Transcription					
	diomdonoti/negotiumet/erneetipsam/necsitividime/timotneosan/gui[n] esuo//donotibimercurius/aliamneg/ tiumnavin/[---]/ne[---]/min[---]sang/suo				
Reconstructed text					
	Dio M(ercurio) dono ti<bi> / negotium Et/{t}ern<a>e et ipsam / nec sit i<n>vidi<a> me<i> / Timot<h>{n}eo san/gui[n]e suo // dono tibi / Mercurius / aliam neg[o]/tium Navin/[ii? ---]/ne[---]/min[---] sang[u<ine>] / suo				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	To the god Mercury, I entrust to you my business with Eterna, and her own self, and may Timot(h)eus feel no jealousy of me at the risk of his life-blood. // I entrust to you, O Mercury, another transaction... his blood.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Text contains a number of errors - omission or duplication of letters, misspellings and grammatical mistakes. DIOM in line 1 could be Deo Iovi Optimo Maximo, but unlikely considering mention of Mercury on reverse. Folded five times.				

TabletID	149	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Pagan's Hill
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	95 by 101	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	Burglary, TheftMoney
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 336-9 Tomlin (1991): 309					
Transcription					
[---]ri[---]/[---]mitr[---]pio[---]/in*isiiimilibuscuius[---]mediam/partemtibiutitaillum[-]xigasavasscil/lo[-] pecominifilioetuxoresuaquoniam/[---]rtussumquodillidehospitiolon[---]/alaverintnecillis[-] ermittassanit[-]/[---]necbiberenecma[-]d[-]carenecdormi/[---]ossanoshabe[-]ntnessihancrem/[---] adfanumtuum[---]tulerintiteratis/[---]c[-]busterogout[---]sisnominibus/[---]meorumhoc[---] ssumrecipi/[---]perven[---]t					
Reconstructed text					
[Deo Mercu]ri[o?---]/[---]mitr[---]pio[---]/in (denari)is III milibus cuius [de]mediam / partem tibi <dono> ut ita illum [e]xigas a Vassicil/lo [---]pecomini filio et uxore sua quoniam / [per]r<c>{t} ussum quod illi de hospitio m[eo---]/[pec]ulaverint nec illis [p]ermittas sanit[a]/[tem] nec bibere nec ma[n]d[u]care nec dormi[re] / [nec nat]os sanos habe[a]nt ne{s}si hanc rem / [meam] ad fanum tuum [at]tulerint iteratis / [pre]c[i]bus te rogo ut [ab ip]sis nominibus / [inimicorum] meorum hoc [pertu]ssum recipi / [atur?] perven[ia]t					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
[To the god Mercury?...] in three thousand denarii, of which (I give) you half portion on condition that you exact it from Vassicillus the son of [...]cominus and from his wife, since the coin which they have stolen from my house. You are not to permit them health nor to drink nor to eat nor to sleep [nor] to have healthy [children] unless they bring this [my] property to your temple. With repeated [prayers] I ask you that this [coin?] may come to be recovered [from the very] names of my [enemies.]					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by a metal detector, so context lost. However, Roman temple known from nearby. Dedication of the Pagan's Hill temple is unknown. This CT could be from an earlier phase than that excavated in 1949-52, which was dated to after 258.					

TabletID	150	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Pagan's Hill
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 45	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Unknown	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 336, 340					
Transcription					
[---] / gno[---]quem/[---]tuadroit/[---]/[---]/[---]/t[---]/q[---]/[---]octiesnoveme/sitomnigen[---]/[---] borumfatigatu/eexorit[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---] / gno[---]quem/[---]tuadroit/[---]/[---]/[---]/t[---]/q[---]/[---] octies novem e /sit omni gen[ere]/[la] borum fatigatu/e exorit.s[---]/[---]					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
... eight times nine... let him be wearied with every sort of hardships...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Three conjoining fragments found by a metal detector. Text is close to Livy 40.22.15, and could be first evidence of his readership in Roman Britain.					

TabletID	151	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Pagan's Hill
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	15 by 52	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1984): 336, 341					
Transcription					
[---]cond[-]tin[---]/[---]umqu[-] quomin[---]/[---]frau[-]e sua ul[---]/[---]us donav[---]/[---]eus[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]cond[-]tin[---]/[---]umqu[e] quomin[us---]/[---]frau[d]e sua ul[la---]/[---]us donav[i?---]/[---]eus[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... by any fraud of his... given...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by metal detector. Two conjoining fragments.					

TabletID	152	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Puckeridge-Braughing
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	250		
Dimensions (mm)	147 by 55	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Unknown	Motive	TheftMoney
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1986): 436 Tomlin (1988a): 68-9					
Transcription					
[---]// em[---]/[---]a[-]srafusa/[---]l[-]s[-]lla[-]meq[-]rtndoeffa/[. . ?]m * .risi.e.sosaf.hneis					
Reconstructed text					
[---]// em[---]/[---]a[-]s Rafusa/[---]l[-]s[-]lla[-]meq[-]rtndoeffa/[. . ?]m * .risi.e.sosaf.hneis					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					
The find was unstratified. A symbol is present on both sides, which could be a priest's crown. * is the sign for denarii. Pierced twice after inscribing, then folded 5 times and pierced another 3 times.					

TabletID	153	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Ratcliffe-on-Soar
EarliestPossibleDate	367	LatestPossibleDate	392		
Dimensions (mm)	82 by 38	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing, TheftTools
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin and Hassall (2004): 336-7 Tomlin (2004a) Ant. Journal. 84: 346-52					
Transcription					
annotodeduas/ocriasasciascal/prumaciasimaupsi/briantineduas/partisdeoac ceum					
Reconstructed text					
annoto de duas / ocrias ascia<m> scal/pru<m> ma<n>ica<m> si m(ulier) au[t] si / b(aro) riantine duas / partis deo ac ceum					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I make a note of two gaiters, an axe, a knife, a pair of gloves, whether woman or if man... two parts to the god...					
Associated finds					
Found with 22 coins, one third century, and all other from AD 367-92.					
Notes					

TabletID	154	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Ratcliffe-on-Soar
EarliestPossibleDate	167	LatestPossibleDate	237		
Dimensions (mm)	84 by 57	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftMoney
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
Turner (1963): 122-4					
Transcription					
donaturdeioiui/optinomaximout/exigatpermentemper/memoriampertus/perintestinumpcor/[-] ermedullasperuenas/ per[---]as[---]/[--][--][--] simascelsi/feminaquisquis//inuolauit*rioscani/digniutincorpore/ suoinbreuitemp[--]e/pariat[-] donatur/deosstodecimapars/eiuspecuniaequam/[--]luerit					
Reconstructed text					
donatur deo lovi / optimo maximo ut / exigat per mentem per / memoriam per intus / per intestinum per cor / [p]er medullas per venas / per[---]as[---]/[--][--][--] si mascel si / femina qui<sq>uis // involavit *rios Cani / Digni ut in corpore / suo in brevi temp[or]e / pariat.donatur / deo s(upers)to decima pars / eius pecuniae quam / [so]luerit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the god Jupiter Optimus Maximus there is given that he may hound... through his mind, through his memory, his inner parts (?), his intestines, his heart, his marrow, his veins... who ever it was, whether man or woman who // stole away the denarii of Canus (?) Dignus that in his own person in a short time he may balance the account. There is given to the god above named a tenth part of the money when he has (repaid it?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Rare dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Written retrograde.					

TabletID	155	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Ratcliffe-on-Soar
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	112 by 56	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Unknown	Motive	Burglary, TheftLivestock, TheftOtherSpecific
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1993): 310-313 Mullen (2013)					
Transcription					
tnurededrepmauqmalomenucotitteigirolumacenimon/tisalounin[-] muneuqmuciuciuouediedmvnafni/ ouqmeideuqsutattim muusniugmastumallialom/rutairomatruh[--]a[---]ounieuqmuc[--]q rutairom/ tisalovni[---] euqmuciuqmairootaluapte/malliuiqmuciuqruta[--] omotairomespite/oicassiuleuoitipsoedngotreutetisalouni/ rutoiromouedatisalounimallieuqmuciuq					
Reconstructed text					
nomine Camulorigi<s> et Titocun<a>e molam quam perdederunt / in fanum dei devovi cuicimque n<o>m[e]n involasit / mola<m> illam ut sa<n>guin suum mittat usque diem quo / moriatur q[ui]cumque invo[l]a[sit] <f>urta moriatur / et pavlatoriam quicumque [illam] involasit / et ipse {moriato} mo[r]iatur quicumqu<e> illam / involasit et vertogn de <h>ospito vel vissacio quicumque illam involasit a de{v}o mori<a>tur					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
In the name of Camulorix and Titocuna I have dedicated in the temple of the god the mule which they have lost. Whoever stole that mule, whatever his name, may he let his blood until the day he die. Wheover stole the objects of the theft, may he die; and the feedbag, whoever stole it, may he die also. Who ever stole it and... from the house or the saddle bags, whoever stole it, may he die by the god.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
First instance from Britain for a tablet being written explicitly for someone else. Found on the surface during field walking.					

TabletID	156	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Rothwell
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	84 by 45	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	House	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (2013) in Willis: 284-8					
Transcription					
[---]dfundat/[---]m[-]ipsis/[---]tr[-]q[-]od/[---]anni[-]er/[---]mua[-]ier//har[--]quise[--]t[t]atfrnem/ deinn[--]snstiusnomine/seruandi[-]hermoniepino/tener[-]eclarenti epinus/seremenellamulier/mel[-]donee[-]uopius/[---]anenti					
Reconstructed text					
[---]a]dfundat / [---]a]nima ipsis / [---]tr[-]q[u]od/[---]anni[-]er/[---]mua[-]ier //har[--] qui se[--]t[-]at f[ur]em / de inn[--]snstius nomine / Servandi Hermoni Epino / Tener[a]e Clarenti Epinus / Sere<me>nella mulier / Mel[i]done E{e}uopius / [---]anenti					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
... thief, concerning the name of Servandus, to Hermo, to Epinus, to (or of) Tenera, of Clarentius, Epinus, Serenella a woman, Melidone, Euopius					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed on both sides but exposed outer face now almost illegible due to corrosion. Wide variety of names derived from Greek, Latin and Celtic elements, and in nominative, genitive and dative cases. Two families?					

TabletID	157	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Silchester
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded	
			lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified	
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (2009): 323-4					
Transcription					
tnusiqniusullicnimin/eanillicdsuntic[-]vi/shiminacsusunionol/ve[---]ci[-] sin[-]/ireualauniiuq/amtedsuedt/magalpal					
Reconstructed text					
Nimincillus (Quintinus) / lu[n]ctinus D(o)collinae / Lon(g)inus usacanimihs / [-] nis[-]ic [---] eu(m) / qui inv<o>{a}laveri/t deus det ma/la<m> plagam					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Nimincillus Quintinus, Iunctinus (son) of Docillina, Longinus, [name], [name]. Him who has stolen, let the god give a nasty blow.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Attached to something with pins, later removed and folded twice. Writing style clumsy and irregular. Inscribed line by line R to L in reverse sequence.					

TabletID	158	Province	Britannia	FindSite	(Southern Britain)
EarliestPossibleDate	150	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	69 by 53	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Unknown	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1988): 488-9					
Transcription					
[---]I[---]/amisiorotuamn[---]/statemutffuremistum[---]/sia[---]ilasi[-]uersi[---]/ext[-]nguas[---] utillis[---]/ciasperduci[-]emra[---]/[---]n[---]i[---]umet[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/amisi oro tuam m[aie]/statem ut {f}urem istum / si a[nc]il<l>a si [p]uer si [puella] / ext[i] nguas [---] ut illi s[ic fac]/cias perduci [r]em ra[ptam(?)] / [---]um et [---] / [---]					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
To the god... from... I give you the... which I have lost. I beg your majesty to destroy this thief, whether slave woman or boy or girl... that you force him to produce the stolen property.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Tablet offered for sale by Seaby Ltd in 1983. No provenance, but appearance and formulas guarantee location in Southern England. Two conjoining fragments.					

TabletID	159	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Thetford
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 46	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Pit/Well			
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1982): 410					
Transcription					
ova/suinimep/silavon/[---]meptsesu[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/ Peminus / Novalis / [defix]us est Pem[inus]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... Peminus Novalis. Peminus is cursed...					
Associated finds					
A large hoard of late-fourth century jewellery and silver plate. Mainly the product of a single workshop, some unfinished. Twelve of the 33 silver spoons carried inscriptions naming the god Faunus, and one jem mentioned Abrasax and Iao.					
Notes					
Written retrograde.					

TabletID	160	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Towcester
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	50 by 50	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	TheftUnspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin and Hassall (2007): 361					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
a) Geneti <u>u</u> m // et Ma[---] b) [---] / [---] nutum / [---]vivsn[-]bis [---]/[---] vvat c) [---] et de[us] / [si] liber si ser[uus---]/[---]/[---]/[---]pe]teren[t---]/[---] Cunomorinum [---]/[---] Hil]arianum [---]/[---]us vassvara [---]/[---]Cuno]moltum [---]/[---]/[---]ses et er[nt---]/[---]inu] eneru[nt---]/[---]					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
... and the god... whether free or slave... Cunomorinus... Hilarianus... Cunomoltus...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Three unjoined fragments (a, b,c). The formula in (c) identifies a CT prompted by theft. Possibly some Celtic names.					

TabletID	161	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	90 by 84	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n79				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text	Deo Mercurio				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
	To the god Mercury				
Associated finds					
Notes	Corroded and worn. Most of the text is probably illegible.				

TabletID	162	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 135	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftLivestock
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Wright and Hassall (1979): 340-2 Tomlin (1993): n1					
Transcription					
deomercurio /cenacusqueritur/deuitalinoetnata/linofoliooipsiusd/iument[--]quodeirap/tumest e[-] rogat/deummercurium /utnecantesa/nitatem//habeantnissi/[[nissi]] repraese[---]/tauerintmihi[---]/mentumquodrapueruntetdeo /deuotione[-] qua[---]/ipseabhisex/postulauerit					
Reconstructed text					
deo Mercurio / Cenacus queritur / de Vitalino et Nata/lino filio ipsius d<e>/ iument[o] quod ei rap/tum est e[t] rogat / deum Mercurium /ut nec ante / sa/nitatem // habeant nis{s}i /{nissi} repraese[n]/taverint mihi [iu]/mentum quod rapuerunt et deo / devotione[m] qua[m] / ipse ab his ex/postulaverit					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Cenacus complains to the god Mercury about Vitalinus and Natalinus his son concerning the draught animal which has been stolen from him, and asks the god Mercury that they may have neither health before/unless they return at once to me the draught animal which they have stolen, and to the god the devotion which he has demanded from them himself.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Vulgar grammar and spellings.					

TabletID	163	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 120	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n12				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text	...si puer si puella...				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Three fragments, text mostly now lost. Pierced after folding.				

TabletID	164	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	57 by 44	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n59					
Transcription					
Q // text not obviously Latin					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
On second side, the text is perhaps written concentrically. This text is not obviously Latin.					

TabletID	165	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	58 by 115	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n7					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
The text does not seem to be Latin, but resembles Tab Sul. 14					

TabletID	166	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	92 by 79	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftLivestock
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n9					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
divo Mercurio... ovem...					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
to the god Mercury... sheep...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Seven lines of Old Roman Cursive addressing 'divo Mercurio' referring to the theft of a sheep (ovem).					

TabletID	167	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	83 by 81	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftMoney
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n21				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Twelve lines of Old Roman Cursive. Contains denarii sign followed by a numeral.				

TabletID	168	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 53	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n74					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
deo Merc[u]ri[o]...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
To the god Mercury...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	169	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	125 by 92	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftCooking Vessels
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n24					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
...divo Marti... vasa...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
To the god Mars... vessels...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	170	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	84 by 98	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1989): 329-31 Adams (1992): 7-8 Tomlin (1993): n43 Tomlin (1999): 554					
Transcription					
deomercurio/docilinusquaenm/varianusetperegrina/etsabinianusqu[i] peco/rimeodolummalumin/tuleruntetint[-]rr[-]pro/locunturrogoteuteos/max[-]mo[--] toadigasnec/eissanit[--]som/numperm[--]asnisi/adtequodm[--]ad[--]/ni[--]erint/redem[-]rint					
Reconstructed text					
Deo Mercurio / Docilinus quaenm / Varianus et Peregrina / et Sabinianus qu[i] peco/ri meo dolum malum in/tulerunt et in t[e]rra pro/lo{c}<qu>untur rogo te ut eos / max[i]mo [le]to adigas nec / eis sanit[at]em nec] som/num perm[it]as nisi / ad te quod m[ihi] admi[ni]straverint / redem[e]rint					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Docilinus to the god Mercury... Varianus and Peregrina and Sabinianus who inflicted evil intent on my cattle and spoke out on earth (?). I ask you to bring greatest death to them, permit them neither health nor sleep unless they atone to you for what they have done to me.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Similar, if not the same, hand as in CTNW 60.					

TabletID	171	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 124	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftUnspecified		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1988): 485-6 Tomlin (1993): n4					
Transcription					
biccus datm/ercurio quidquid/pedit siuirsi m/ascelnemalet/necacet neloqua/turnedormiat/n[-] uigiletnecsa/[-]utem necsa/nitatemne/ss[-] intemplo/mercurii per/tulerit neco/scientiamde/perferat ness[-]/meinterceden/te					
Reconstructed text					
Biccus dat M/ercurio quidquid / pe<r>d<id>it si vir si m/ascel ne meiat / ne cacet ne loqua/tur ne dormiat/ n[e] vigilet nec sa/[i]utem nec sa/nitatem ne/ss[i] in templo / Mercurii per/tulerit ne<c> co<n>/scientiam de / perferat ness[i] / me interceden/te					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Biccus gives Mercury whatever has lost (that the thief), whether man or male (sic), may not urinate or defecate nor speak nor sleep nor stay awake nor [have] well-being or health, unless he bring (it) in the temple of Mercury; not gain consciousness (sic) of (it) unless with my intervention.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The text is full of copying errors, omissions and half-understood formulas. May be due to careless and mechanical copying of a formulary. 'Ne taceat' may have been omitted after 'ne loquitur'					

TabletID	172	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	83 by 60	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftDomesticObjects		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1979): 343 Tomlin (1993): n2					
Transcription					
commonitoriumdeo/mercurio [[martisiluano]] asatur/ninamulieredelintia/minequodamisitutil/ lequiho[-]circumuenitnon/antelaxeturnissiquand[-]/ressdictasadfanumssd[-]/tumattul[-] ritsiursi[-]u/lier siseruussiliber// deossdictotertiam/partem[-] onatitaut/exsigatistasresquae/sstasunt/acaquaepertdeosiluanotertiaparsdonaturitaut/ hocexsigatsiursifeminasis[---]/ussiliber[---]at					
Reconstructed text					
commonitorium deo / Mercurio a Satur/nina muliere de lintia/mine quod amisit ut il/le qui ho[c] circumvenit non / ante laxetur nis{s}i quand[o] / res s(upra){s(criptas)}dictas ad fanum s(upra) {s(criptum)}d[ic]/tum attul[e]rit si vir si [m]u/lier si servus si liber // deo s(upra)dicto tertiam / partem [d]onat ita ut / exsigat istas res quae / s(upra)s(crip)tae sunt / aca quae per(didi)t deo silvano / tertia pars donatur its ut / hoc ex{s}igat si vir si femina si s[erv]us si liber [---]at					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
A memorandum to the god... Mercury (over Mars Silvanus) from Saturnina, a woman, concerning the linen cloth which she has lost. (She asks) that he who has stolen it should not have rest before, unless, until he brings the aforesaid property to the aforesaid temple, whether man or woman, whether slave or free. She gives a third part to the aforesaid god on condition that he exact this property which has been written above. A third part...what she has lost is given to the god Silvanus on condition that he exact it, whether man or woman, whether slave or free...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed on both sides. Uses technical, clerical and quasi-legal terms, which imply a petition to a superior. God of Uley alternately identified as Mercury, Mars Silvanus and Silvanus.					

TabletID	173	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	76 by 131	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Burglary, TheftLivestock, TheftOtherSpecific, TheftTools		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1992): 310 Tomlin (1993): n72 Tomlin (1999): 554, 560					
Transcription					
deosanctomercuriohonoratus/conquerornuminituomeper/dedisserotasduasetvaccasquat/ tuoretresculasplurimasde/hospitalomeo/rogaverimgeniumnu/ministuuiteiquimihifraudem/fecerit sanitatemeinonper/ mittasneciacerenecsederenec/biberenecmanducaresibaro/simuliersipuersipuellasiservus/silibern issimeamremadme/ pertuleritetmeamconcordiam/habuerititeratispraecibusro/gonumentuumutpetitiomea/statimparea tmevindica/ tumesseamaiestatetua					
Reconstructed text					
Deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus / conqueror numini tuo me per/dedisse rotas duas et vaccas quat/tuor et resculas plurimas de / hospitalo meo / rogaverim genium nu/minis tu{u}i ut ei qui mihi fraudem / fecerit sanitatem ei non per/mittas nec iacere nec sedere nec / bibere nec manducare si baro / si mulier si puer si puella si servus / si liber ni{s}si meam rem ad me / pertulerit et meam concordiam / habuerit iteratis pr{a}ecibus ro/go numen tuum ut petitio mea / statim pareat me vindica/tum esse a maiestate tua					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Honoratus to the holy god Mercury. I complain to your divinity that I have lost two wheels and four cows and many small belongings from my house. I would ask the genius of your divinity that you do not allow health to the person who has done me wrong, nor allow him to lie or sit or eat or drink, whether he is man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, unless he brings my property to me and is reconciled with me. With renewed prayers I ask your divinity that my petition may immediately make me vindicated by your majesty.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Folded 6 times.					

TabletID	174	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	56 by 46	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n71					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
[deo?] Mercurio...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
To the god Mercury...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	175	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	58 by 159	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n70					
Transcription					
devo Mercurio... // ...Severino/dona[t]...					
Reconstructed text					
d{e}<i>vo Mercurio... // ...Severino donat...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Divine Mercury... gives to Severinus...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Very worn and almost illegible.					

TabletID	176	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	110 by 59	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftAgriculturalProduce, TheftMoney
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n75				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text	...d[e] arca... frumenta... s(i)b(aro) s(i) m(ulier) s(i) p(uer) s(i) p(uella)				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation ...cash... standing grain... whether man or woman whether boy or girl				
Associated finds					
Notes	Damaged and corroded. Requests that thief return goods to the temple of Mercury at Uley - place-name Romanised but of Celtic origin.				

TabletID	177	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 80	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n37				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Illegible traces of New Roman Cursive letters, struck by a hammer after inscribing.				

TabletID	178	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	75	LatestPossibleDate	125		
Dimensions (mm)	120 by 71	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftAgriculturalProduce
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n58 Tomlin (1999): 557					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Mercurio... res id est lanam...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Mercury... this thing is wool (?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Script resembles that of stylus writing tablets of c. AD 75-125. Probably the earliest from Uley.					

TabletID	179	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	71 by 54	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n57					
Transcription					
...habeat					
Reconstructed text					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Six lines of Old Roman Cursive. Found in a second century context.					

TabletID	180	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 95	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftClothing
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n55 Hassall and Tomlin (1995): 371-3					
Transcription					
deomercuriomintl/arufusdonau/eosvelmuliervel/pariusliifaspatem/[ma]teriamsagi/donau					
Reconstructed text					
Deo Mercurio Mintl/a Rufus donau / eos vel mulier vel/ pariusliifaspatem / [ma]teriam sagi / donavi					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Mintla Rufus to the god Mercury. I have given them, whether woman or [man]... the material of a cloak. I have given (them).					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Corroded at edges but otherwise complete. Obscure middle lines could be the result of copying errors.					

TabletID	181	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	63 by 144	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Embezzlement		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n78 Tomlin (1999): 556, 558					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Tibi commendo... qui mihi fraudem fecit de denar(ii)s illis quos [mih]i debebat dono of(f)ero destino deputo... in fanum et thesaurum potententiss[imi] dei // seminudi edentuli tremuli podagrici sine cuiusque hominis missericordia					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
To you I commend the man who has cheated me of the denarii he owed me. I give, I offer, I destine, I depute one hundred thousand denarii to the god Mercury, that he may bring them to the temple and treasury of the most mighty god... lack of sleep, with unknown diseases and adverse ailments... half-naked, toothless, tremulous, gouty, beyond human pity.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The only instance in the British tablets of a denied deposit. Largest sum of money from the British tablets.					

TabletID	182	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	79 by 75	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftUnspecified		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n76 Hassall and Tomlin (1995): 373-6 Tomlin (1999): 554					
Transcription					
[---]sanctomercuri[---]r[---]/tibideillisquimihimale/cogitant etmalefaciunt/supra ed[---]siumen[---] siservus silibersim[---]si[---]inautnonillisper/mittasnecsta[-]e nec/ sedere necbibere//necmanduca[-]n[-]ch[---]/[-]r[-]s redemere possit nesisanguine suoaeae/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Deo sancto Mercuri[o] [que]r[or] / tibi de illis qui mihi male / cogitant et male faciunt / supra ed[---]s iumen[---] / si servus si liber si m[ascel] / si [fem]ina ut non illis per/mittas nec sta[r]e nec sedere nec bibere // nec manducar[e] n[e]c h[as] / [i]r[a]s redemere possit / nesi sanguine suo aene/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
I complain to you holy Mercury, of those who are badly disposed towards me and do evil over... whether slave or free, whether male or female, allow then to neither stand or sit, nor drink nor eat, or to buy off these provocations unless with their own blood...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	183	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	90 by 130	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n20					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Cunovina					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Refers to lost property. Most of the text, which is in Old Roman Cursive, has been lost to corrosion.					

TabletID	184	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	42 by 66	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n49 Hassall and Tomlin (1995): 376-7					
Transcription					
Aunillus/V[---]riana/Covitius/Mini (filius) dona[-]/Varicillum/Minura/Atavacum/[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Aunillus/ Vicariana / Covitius / Mini filius donat / Varicillum / Minura / Atavacum/[---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Aunillus, Vicariana, (and) Covitus son of Minius give Varicillus; Minura (gives) Atavacus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Names of both petitioners and victims. Scored across with layout lines.					

TabletID	185	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	98 by 54	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Burglary, TheftJewellery, TheftTools
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1979): 344 Tomlin (1991): 307f Tomlin (1993): n3 Tomlin pers. comm.					
Transcription					
deomrtimercuri[---]/anulusaureusdehos[---]/ er[---]etpedicaferre[---]/ s[-]qui fraudem feci[---]/ r[--] deusinueni[-]t					
Reconstructed text					
deo M<a>rti Mercuri[o---] / anulus aureus de hos[pitiolo? --- involav]/ er[it] et pedica ferre[a---]/ si qui fraudem feci[t---]/ r[em]deus inveni[a]t					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
To the god Mars/Mercury... gold ring [stolen] from... [house]... and iron fetter... who did wrong... let the god discover the thing					
Associated finds					
Notes					
The iron fetter may be a rhetorical conceit to punish the thief. This is the only tablet to couple Mars with Mercury, but both are addressed separately in other Uley tablets.					

TabletID	186	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	66 by 50	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n36					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Old Roman Cursive text badly corroded and almost illegible. Some lines have been scored across diagonally.				

TabletID	187	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	59 by 109	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n35				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	The text does not seem to be Latin.				

TabletID	188	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 88	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n34					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Genitus Mercurio...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Father Mercury...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Requires the return of stolen property.					

TabletID	189	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 76	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n33 Hassall and Tomlin (1995): 378-9					
Transcription					
Lucila/Mellossi(filia)/aexsievm/Minu(v)assus/Senebel[I]/anae (filius)					
Reconstructed text					
Lucila / Mellossi filia/[---]/Minuvassus/ Senebell/anae filius					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Lucila daughter of Mellossus... Minuvassus son of Senebellana					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Apprently two names of Celtic etymology, each followed by a name in the genitive case.					

TabletID	190	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	77 by 166	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n28					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
d[eo] Mercurio...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To the god Mercury...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Badly corroded and almost illegible.					

TabletID	191	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	97 by 84	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n26				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Random cuts and letters, with seven lines of New Roman Cursive Latin text. All subsequently defaced by repeated blows of a spike.				

TabletID	192	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 165	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n51					
Transcription					
...deuendi					
Reconstructed text					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Perhaps the end of a Celtic personal name. Written in New Roman Cursive.					

TabletID	193	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	89 by 128	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftClothing
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n62 Tomlin and Hassall (2003): 363					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Mercurio (?) // ...pallium... fascia... capit(u)larem					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Mercury // Senovarus son of Senovirus... a cloak... band... headgear...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	194	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	31 by 18	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Wright and Hassall (1973): 324 Tomlin (1993): n6					
Transcription					
[---]/[---r]ogo laqu[---]/[---c]ommun[---]/[---]as date[---]/[---]summam div[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/[---r]ogo laqu[---]/[---c]ommun[---]/[---]as date[---]/[---]summam div[---]/[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I ask... highest god(?) ...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Text on side 'a' is inverted with respect to side 'b'					

TabletID	195	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 72	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftTools
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
Hassall and Tomlin (1989): 327-30 Tomlin (1993): n5					
Transcription					
nomenmfuris/[--]ifreneminuolauerit/sil[-] bersiseruussibaro/simulierdeodona/torduaspertes/afimasuater/tiaadsanita /tem					
Reconstructed text					
nomen furis / [qu]i frenem involaverit / si l[i]ber si servus si baro / si mulier deo dona/tor duas partes afima sua ter/tia ad sanita/tem					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
The name of the thief who has stolen (my) bridle, whether free or slave, whether man or woman, is given to the god... two parts from his... a third to (his) health.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
'afima' could be an error for 'a femina'					

TabletID	196	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	95 by 86	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Greek, Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftClothing, TheftDomesticObjects, TheftMoney
Bibliography	Tomlin (1993): n52 Tomlin (2002): 175				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I have given the man who stole my linen and my cloak and my two silver coins, whether boy or girl, whether male slave or female, whether man or woman, whether soldier or civilian. Take away his marrow, his blood, his soul, unless he brings them back to your temple.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Latin text written in Greek letters.				

TabletID	197	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	47 by 38	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftUnspecified		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n68 Tomlin (2010): 248 Tomlin (2015): 398-9					
Transcription					
deosanctomercurio/carin[---]ec/rodefurtouoquodmihifactumestpri/manusnec[-]iper/mitt[---] smercurius/usnec[---]/nec mas[---]/[---]/necsolemneclun[---]/neconiuu[---]infantis/[---] neum/sanuinesuoconpliat/vendicat[---]					
Reconstructed text					
deo sancto Mercurio / Carin[us? tibi obs]ec/ro de furto{uo} quod mihi factum est Pri/manus nec [e]i per/mitt[as nato]s Mercurius / {us} nec[---]/ nec mas[---] / [---] / nec solem nec lun[am] / nec coniuu[---] infantis / [---] neum / san<g>uine suo conpliat / vendicat[ionem?]					
Translation		<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation			
To the holy god Mercury. I, Carinus (?), implore you concerning the theft which has been done to me (by) Primanus. And Mercury is neither to permit him ... nor//... nor...neither sun nor moon, neither... of an infant... fulfil vengeance with his blood.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Vulgar spelling - sanuine for sanguine. 'Neither sun not moon' is new. Folded twice.					

TabletID	198	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	175	LatestPossibleDate	275		
Dimensions (mm)	84 by 134	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	TheftDomesticObjects
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n84 Tomlin (1999): 554					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
gabatas duas stagneas					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
two pewter plates					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Anonymous complaint to Mars (bearing a title also borne by Mercury at Uley). The thief is to suffer ill health. Half the plates are given to the god, for him to exact the stolen property.					

TabletID	199	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	89 by 105	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n86 Hassall and Tomlin (1993): 310					
Transcription					
Petronius					
Reconstructed text					
Petronius					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Petronius					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	200	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	72 by 42	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftClothing		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n80 Hassall and Tomlin (1996): 439-41 Tomlin (1999): 560					
Transcription					
cartaquemercuriodona/turutmanecilisquiper[-] erunt/ultionemrequiratquiillos/invalaviitullisanguem[-]tsanita/ temtolla[-]quiipsosmanicili[-] stulit/itquantociusillipareatquod/deummercuriumr[-]gamus[---]jura // q[-]os[-]nc[-]u[---]lat					
Reconstructed text					
Carta qu(a)e Mercurio dona/tur ut manecilis qui per[i]erunt / ultionem requirat qui illos / inv{a} <o>lav{i}it ut illi sangu<in>em [e]t sanita/tem tolla[t] qui ipsos manicili[o]s tulit / [u]t quantoci{ci} us illi pareat quod / deum Mercurium r[o]gamus [---]jura // q[u]os neu[---]llat					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
The sheet (of lead) which is given to Mercury, that he exact vengeance for the gloves which have been lost; that he take blood and health from the person who has stolen them; that he provide what we ask the god Mercury... as quickly as possible for the person who has taken these gloves.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
First explicit reference to a curse tablet as a 'sheet' (carta).					

TabletID	201	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Uley
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	i) 46 by 43		Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded	
	ii) 45 by 39			<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
			lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Context		Motive	TheftDomesticObjects, TheftJewellery	
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
Tomlin (1993): n50 Hassall and Tomlin (1998): 433-4					
Transcription					
[---]iorid[-]sonae[---]/ltell[---]/[---]esuntsus[---]ctisuntinter[---]/[-]llus[-]eusere[-]uminuenetet[---]/ lami[-]launa[-]etannulliquator[---]					
Reconstructed text					
[---]iorid[-]sonae[---]/ltell[---]/[---]e sunt suspecti sunt inter[---]/[-]llus[-]eusere[-]uminuenetet[---]/ lame[l]la una et anuli quattuor[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
...one piece of (silver) plate and four rings...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Two conjoining fragments.					

TabletID	202	Province	Britannia	FindSite	Wanborough
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	150		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 55	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftUnspecified		
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
Rea (1972): 363-7					
Transcription					
[---]epr[---]r[-]epeto[---]eue[n]e[---]/[---]etoiudiciotuoqu[---]ecula[---]/[---] umnelilipermittasbiberen[---]/[---]rm[-]renecambularenequeulla[-]/[---] sgentisueundeillenasc[---]/[---]itaullanecalumen/[---]pr[-]uementeloquanturetr[---]/[---] ugabaturcertumsciu[---]/[---]si[-]/[---]meuere[-]am[---]/[---]meor					
Reconstructed text					
[---]depre[co]r te peto [---] evene [---]/ [---]p]eto iudicio tuo qu[i de me p]eculans[---]/ [---][t]um ne {l}il<l>i permittas bibere n[ec] / [esse nec vigilare nec do]rmire nec ambulare neque ullam / [partem manere sinas illiu]s gentisve unde ille nascit[ur] / [---]eita ulla nec al[i]men/[tum] pr[e<a>]ve<h>emente<r> loquantur et r[-]/[---]ugabatur certum sciu[n]t/ [---] si / [---] meuere[c] am[eue] / [---]m]eor					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
I beg to deliver to your judgement (the man who) stole from me (?), that you do not permit him to drink nor eat nor sleep nor walk and that you do not allow any part to remain of him or of the family from which he springs...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Curses the thief and his family.					

TabletID	203	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Chagnon
EarliestPossibleDate	172	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 100	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 111 Wunsch (1900) n.9 ILS 8752 Gager (1992) n. 53					
Transcription					
denutiopersonisinfra/scribtislentioettasgillo/utiadsintadplutonem/ quomodohiccatellusnemini/ nocuitsicimqueolosiccodmanec/illihancitemvincerepossint/quomodinecmaterhuiuscatelli/defend erepotiutsicnecadvocatiorume[---]defenderenon/possintsicillos[--] imicos/atracatetracatigal/laraprecata/egdarata/heheselatamentisablata/ etadprosepinamhincabeant					
Reconstructed text					
denuntio personis infra/scribtis Lentino et Tasgillo / uti adsin<t> ad Plutonem / <et ad Proserpinam hinc abeant> / quomodo hic catellus nemin[i] / nocuit sic imqueolosiccodma nec / illi hanc item vincere possint / quomodi nec mater huius catelli / defendere potuit sic nec advocatiorum e[os d]efendere non / possint sic illo[s] [in]imicos / atracatetracati gal/lara precata egdarata / hehes celata mentis ablata / {et ad Proserpinam hinc abeant}					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
I command that the persons written below, Lentinus and Tasgillus, be off from here to Pluto and Persephone. Just as this puppy harmed no one, so (may they harm no one) and may they not be able to win this lawsuit; just as the mother of this puppy could not defend it, so may their lawyers be unable to defend them, and so may those (legal) opponents <i>magical words</i>					
Associated finds					
Found in a Gallo-Roman grave. A skeleton of a puppy and a coin of Marcus Aurelius.					
Notes					
May have been attached in manner of diptych to CTNW 262.					

TabletID	204	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Chagnon
EarliestPossibleDate	172	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 100	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead		
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 112 Wunsch (1900) n. 9 ILS 8752 Gager (1992) n. 53					
Transcription					
aversosabhacl[i] teessedebentqua/modihiccatellusaversus/estnecurgerepotesti/sicnecillisictranspectisin[-]/quomodoille/ quomodoille/quomodiinhocm[o] nimontani/maliaobmutuerunnecsurge/repossunnecillimut[-]/atracertractigallara/ precataegdaratahe/hescelatamentisabla/ta					
Reconstructed text					
aversos ab hac l[i]te esse debent qua/modi hic catellus aversus / est nec surgere potest{i} / sic nec illi sic transpecti sin[t] / quomodo ille / quomodi in hoc m[o]n{i}<u>m{o}<e>nt<o> ani/malia o{m}mutuerun<t> nec surge/re possun<t> nec illi mut[i] / Atracatertracati gallara / precata egdarata he / hescelata mentis abla/ta					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
be turned back from this suit; just as this puppy is twisted away and is unable to rise, so neither may they; they are pierced through, just as this is; just as in this tomb beings have been silenced and cannot rise up, may they not... <i>Magical words</i>					
Associated finds					
Found in a Gallo-Roman grave. A skeleton of a puppy and a coin of Marcus Aurelius.					
Notes					
May have been attached in manner of diptych to tab. 261.					

TabletID	205	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Chamalières
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	40 by 71	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Celtic	Context	Spring	Motive	Juridical
Bibliography					
RIG 2.2. L-100 Mees (2009): 10-28					
Transcription					
Andedion uediiumi diiiuion risun/artiurapon arueriitin/lopites snieddic sos brixitia anderon/clucionfloron nigrinon adgarion aemili/on paterin claudion legitumon caelion/pelign claudio pelign marcion victorin asiati/con addedilli etic se couitoncnaman/tonc siiontio meion poncse sit bue/tid ollon reguccambion exsops/pissiiumi tsoc cantirtssu ison son/bissiet luge dessummiis luge/dessummiis luge dessummiis luxe					
Reconstructed text					
Andedion uediiumi diiiuion risun / artiu Mapon Arueriitin / lopites snieddic sos brixitia anderon / C(aius) Lucion Floron Nigrinon adgarion Aemili/on Paterin<on> Claudion Legitumon Caelion / pelign<on> Claudio<n> pelign<on> Marcion Victorin<on> Asiati/con Addedilli etic secoui toncnaman / toncsiiontio meion poncse sit bue / tid ollon reguccambion exsops / pissiiumi tsoc cantirtssu ison son / bissiet luge dessummiis luge / dessummiis luge dessummiis luxe					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
(Mees 2009): Before the powers of the underworld gods, I invoke Maponos of Arverion. Be quick and spin with magic these below. Gaius Lucius Florus Nigrinus the advocate, Aemilius Paterinus, Claudius Legitumus, Caelius the stranger, Claudius the stranger, Marcus Victorinus, Asiaticus Adðedillus and also the Secovi (cutters?) who will destine and destiny. Little, when sowed, may it thus become great. I straighten what is crooked. Blind I shall see, and this of charm I have told(?) I prepare them for committing, I prepare them for committing, I prepare them for committing, for committing!					
(Lambert (RIG) 2002) In the name of the good strength of the underworld gods, I invoke Maponos of Arverion by the magic of the infernal powers. Gaius Lucius Florus Nigrinus the advocate, Aemilius Paterinus, Claudius Legitumus, Caelius the stranger, Claudius the stranger, Marcus Victorinus, Asiaticus Adðedillus and all those who would swear that false oath. If this decreases, it is full. I straighten what is crooked. Blinded I see. With this it will be ours to you (?). Place to my right, place to my right, place to my right, to my right.					
Associated finds					
Many wooden ex-votos					
Notes					
Invocation of the god of the river source - Maponos. The tablet has one 'ansate' wing, as if for display.					

TabletID	206	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Dax
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	500		
Dimensions (mm)	64 by 46	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftJewellery		
Latin	Spring				
Bibliography					
Marco Simon and Velazquez (2000): 261-274 AE 2000. 925 dfx 4.3.2/1					
Transcription					
leontio/fleontio/[-]deidio/iovino//inbuo/laue/runt/manuspedisquicumquile[---]/anul[---]/[-]culique[-] i[---]/imm[-]rgoi[---]/ru[---]/e[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Leontio / f(ilio) Leontio / [-] D{e}idio / lovino // invo/lave/runt / manus / pedis quicumqui le[---]/ anul[um] / [o]culique[---]i[---] / imm[e]rgo i[---] / ru[---]/e[---]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
To Leontius, son of Leontius, Didius, Iovinus //... (they) stole, hand, feet and eyes. Whoever lifted (my?) ring. I plunge.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Three conjoining fragments, but very corrupted. Text too unclear for a full translation, but appears to be a curse against thieves. Written R to L.					

TabletID	207	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Le Mas-Marcou, Le Monastère
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	107 by 69	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Celtic, Latin	Context	House	Motive	Other
Bibliography	RIG 2.2 L-99				
Transcription	bregissa branderix drondo gines / drondo metis denuntio tibi ne acce/dat termina mea mol[---]ius bregissa / branderix drondo genes drondo metis / denuntio tibi ne accedas termina / mea mol[---] breigissa[---]/[---]dron[---]drondometes den[---]/ accedas [---]mina me[---] / amol[---]				
Reconstructed text	bregissa branderix drondo gines / drondo metis denuntio tibi ne acce/dat termina mea mol[---] ius bregissa / branderix drondo genes drondo metis / denuntio tibi ne accedas termina / mea mol[---] breigissa[---]/[---]dron[---]drondometes den[untio---]/ accedas [---ter]mina me[a---] / amol[---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation (Mees 2009) Bregissa (and) Branderix: may you know truly, may you judge truly. I denounce you so that Molonius(?) does not come near my boundary. Bregissa (and) Branderix: may you know truly, may you judge truly. I denounce you so that Molonius(?) does not come near my boundary. Bre<i>gissa: may you know truly, may you judge truly. I denounce (you) so that you... my boundary Mol...				
Associated finds					
Notes	Seems to be a protective curse relating to boundaries. Partially in Latin but with Celtic names and words.				

TabletID	208	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Les Martres-de-Veyre
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Juridical	
Celtic, Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
RIG 2.2 L-102					
Transcription					
[---]/scoi divos iit i/nolis m/[---]lona[---]/siam[---]/totli[---]/iit iscessiliaduoc/iitamol[---]iint an//[---]/tisco[---]/ [-]cs[---]os litution					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/scoi divos iit i/nolis m/[---]lona[---]/siam[---]/totli[---]/iit iscessiliaduoc/iitamol[---]iint an//[---]/tisco[---]/ [-]cs[---]os litution					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
(Mees 2009) ... divine and... do not allow... and of Iscessilios the advocate(?)... accusation					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Very uncertain reading. Possibly some Celtic and some Latin words.					

TabletID	209	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Lezoux
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	40 by 40	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Celtic	Context	Grave	Motive	TheftMoney
Bibliography	RIG 2.2 L-101				
Transcription	lutura ieur[---]/ secolespom[---]/exiansagabxsps[---]/triaram[---]/tri[---]tic[---]nus/o[---]osecoles // buenda lx / mendicas /sonitixopus / loatingo[---]po / dumuiodu[---]/[-]rincituso / unasioda				
Reconstructed text	lutura ieur[u] / secoles pom[pon] / treansa gabxsitu / tri aram[onus] / tri catic[a]nus / o[---]ex secoles // buetid a[g]ilos / me <u>indicas / so nitixor us / io atingo nitio / dumio dar[.] / rincitu so / gnasioda				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation (Mees 2009: 75) Lutura has dedicated to the Secoli whoever may have stolen the coins(?), whether free or slave, [they are assigned] to the Secoli. // May he thus be persecuted(?); may you avenge me; may you curse this - his affixing - the one that I give up, [the one who?] has taken this property.				
Associated finds	Wrapped around a Roman coin. Many potsherds and plates with Gaulish graffiti found in the area.				
Notes	(Lambert) Reading too uncertain for interpretation or translation. Possibly a protective amulet. Might be Celtic, or nonsensical magical formulas. (Mees) Secoli could be similar to Secovi on Chamalieres tablet.				

TabletID	210	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Murol
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	54 by 54	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	TheftJewellery
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
dfx 4.3.3/1 Verdier (1963): 241-7					
Transcription					
deus te rog[---]/distrale[-]/cointra[-]/t[---] k[---]/futato[-]/colassen[-]/nusque//contra[-]/martisa[-]/veltertio[-]/ut confet[---]/[---]tulit torq[---]/lues rsuis sic r[-]/se et festul[-]/m domine numa[-]					
Reconstructed text					
deus te rog[o qui] / dextrale / co{i}ntra / futat o[-]/colas se n[-] / nusque // contra / Martis a[-] / vel tertio[-] / ut confit[eatur] / [quod] tulit tor[quem] / lues r<e>suis sic r[-] / se et festul[a]/m domine numa[-]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
God I ask you whoever against (my?) bracelet... against. Mars... or third... thus he should confess because he took the chain, stitch together again that which is unbound(?)... himself and... master...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	211	Province	Gallia Aquitania	FindSite	Rom
EarliestPossibleDate	275	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 90	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Celtic, Latin	Context	Spring	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DT 110 Wunsch (1900) n. 20 Versnel (1985): 247-69 cf. RIG L-103 and Mees (2009: 102ff)					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
<u>Latin</u> Apeci alligato Tr[i]/nemeton Caticno/n nudato Seneciolu/m Asedem Triton / Neocarion Didon/em{m} Sosio deliria / Sosio pyra Sosio / cottidie doleto / Sosio loqui nequeat / Sosio de Matur et Eri/dunna ne cluisse Sosio // ne possit im<m>ol[a]/re Aquanno te tor/q<u>eto Nana te con/cruciato Sosio de Eu/molpo mimo ne eni/tuisse possit ebri/a vi mulierem age/re nequeat in equo/leo ne possit immol/are Sosio de Fotio m/imo ne ademissi / victoriam possit [. . .] <u>Celtic</u> ape ci alli gartiesti / eiont cati cato ata / demtisse Botucna se demtiti / catobi cartaont dibona / sosio decipia / sosio pura / sosio e(i)o. . . eiot / et sosio pura [eiot] / sua de[mt]ia [B]o[tu]cna / uataontio dis eia // te uoraiimo / iza ata(n)t / o te izo atant / atecompriato / sosio bertim / oipommio / ateotisse po / te atepriauimo / atant ateont / ezatim ezozia / te uoraiimo / ape sosio bertim / ... demtiss[e] ueie...					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
<u>Latin</u> Apecius, may you bind Trinemetos (and) Caticnos; may you strip bare Seneciolus, Asedis, Tritos, Neocarinos, Dido. May Sosio become delirious, may Sosio suffer from fevers, may Sosio suffer pain everyday. May Sosio not be able to speak. May Sosio not triumph over Maturus and Eridunna, may Sosio not be able to offer sacrifice. May Aquanno torment you. May Nana torture you. May Sosio not be able to outshine the pantomime actor Eumolpus. May he not be able to play [the role of] a married woman in a fit of drunkenness on a young horse. May he not be able to offer sacrifice. May Sosio not be able to snatch the victory from the pantomime actor Fotius. <u>Celtic</u> About this other be called! They fate that it is binding of a binding. Botucna was taken away by it, this (spell) of taking away. By bindings may they cleanse the ungood: his beguiling, his burning, his fating it fates; also his burning it fates. (Just) as Botucna was taken away, (so too) may they who destine do to her. // We bestow on you, whether they be a she or a he. Commissioned, his burdening, the one that I bind it was by it. We have commissioned you. They are, they were;... we bestow on you, about his burdening... desire was taken away by it...					
Associated finds					
Part of a cache of around 40 lead tablets (DT 109), although only this one was inscribed.					
Notes					
Has been read as Latin and Celtic.					

TabletID	212	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Arlon
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 31	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Road	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Schwinden (1989): 85-9				
Transcription	cam[---]/gcurul/[---]nia/[---]inu[---]				
Reconstructed text	Cam[ulus?] // G Curul / [---]nia / [---]inu[s---]				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation Camulus(?)...				
Associated finds	A stone inscription: possibly votive.				
Notes					

TabletID	213	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Deneuvre
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	48 by 107	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Other
Latin		Spring			
Bibliography					
AE 2004. 956					
Lambert (2004b): 59-67					
Transcription					
edemacin[---]rio/suliinipdotivaruf/es[---]aailiui[---] uiamiamisal//tibeбайдemerte/sacoiibiug/atibiderelotespitiresimat/ irenevnoideerinippte[---]e					
Reconstructed text					
Ori[---] Nicamede / furavit od piniilus / las i ma i ma iu [---] iuil iaa [---] se // et remedium<m> <h> abebit / si ipse fecirit quibiocas / ta <et> miserit ipse tole redibit a / e[---] et Pinnire edio in veneri					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
?					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written R to L. Might be a divinatory text, not a curse tablet. Found near a spring dedicated to Hercules.					

TabletID	214	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Maar (Trier-Nord)
EarliestPossibleDate	80	LatestPossibleDate	143		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			ceramic		
Language	Context		Motive	Love	
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
Lehrer (1893): 201-6. DT 103 CIL 13.3.1.10008.7					
Transcription					
abcdefghiklmnoprrstuxyz/artus fututor/ aprilis kaesio/art ligo dercomogni fututor					
Reconstructed text					
abcdefghiklmnoprrstuxyz / artus fututor/ aprilis kaesio / art<e> ligo dercomogni <filium> fututor					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
(Alphabet) tight fornicator. I bind tightly the fornicator, son of Dercomognus. Aprilis Kaesio.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed on a yellow vase, 170 mm tall and 110 mm in diameter. Aprilis Kaesio could be the names of one or two other enemies to be cursed, but their connection to the main curse is uncertain.					

TabletID	215	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	83 by 76	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Uninscribed		Amphitheatre			
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n8					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Covered in unreadable lines and symbols. Obs: easily hand-held. Straight cuts from sheet lead - good flat writing surface.				

TabletID	216	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	40 by 50	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Greek	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Wünsch (1910) n15				
Transcription	Ζεφυρίς...				
Reconstructed text	Ζεφυρίς...				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Zephyr (?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	217	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	93 by 70	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n25 CIL 13.11340.8 AE 1911.148-152 Schwinden (1996): 234-5					
Transcription					
Magic signs// Magic signs /Pr[-]ssiaenom/ende/posit[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Pr[i]ssiae nom/en de/posit[um]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
The name of Prissia is deposited.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Handwriting and formulae very similar to CTNW 238 - possibly same author.					

TabletID	218	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	130 by 100	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n.31 CIL 13.11340.1 AE.1911.152 Schwinden (1996): 235-6					
Transcription					
bonasantanomenpia/nomennoemnolia/[---] ecessedenitiatibi/santnediadefigo/danumquenpeperit/anularegula eatta/aer dominaquea / [---] etantafamapo/m[---]r[---]re[---]carnis/bonarium[---]efigo/att[---]a[---]trata/[---]te[---]ti[---] nci[---]/tai[---]ta[---]otun					
Reconstructed text					
Bona san<c>ta nomen pia / nomen noemnolia / [---]ecesse denitia tibi/ san<c>t<ae> Dia<nae> defigo / [Ro]danum que{n}<m> peperit / An<n>ula Regula eatta / aer domina quae [---]e tanta fama po/m[---]r[---]re[---]carnis/ Bonarium [---]defigo / att[---]a[---]trata/[---]te[---]ti[---] nci[---]/tai[---]ta[---]otun					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Good holy name, pious name... to you, holy Diana, I curse Rodanus, who Annula Regula bore... Lady who... of such repute... I curse...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Originally thought to be silver, but correctly identified as lead by Schwinden (1996: 236).					

TabletID	219	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 52	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n.19 CIL 13.11340.11 AE 1911.148-152 Schwinden (1996): 236					
Transcription					
Ursus / Ursula / Martini/anus / Ursacia					
Reconstructed text					
Ursus / Ursula / Martini/anus / Ursacia					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Ursus / Ursula / Martini/anus / Ursacia					
Associated finds					
Notes					
List of names. Obs: hand-held. Confident NRC hand.					

TabletID	220	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 58	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Wünsch (1910) n7				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Similar lines and characters to 221.				

TabletID	221	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 55	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Wünsch (1910) n6				
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Several rows of characters connected by horizontal and diagonal lines.				

TabletID	222	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	63 by 82	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Greek	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	CIL 13.11340.9 Wunsch (1910) n20				
Transcription	<i>Tablet exclusively magical words and signs, except possibly ΑΥΥΣΙΟΝ which could be a personal name. Rhythmic magic words - ρωρω and ωωθ</i>				
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Depiction of a human bust with writing on chest. Obs: corroded. Shallow writing v. hard to read. Folded into thirds.				

TabletID	223	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 70	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n10 Besnier (1920) n16 CIL 13.11340.10					
Transcription					
[---]/[---]cium // Magical signs / Magical signs.					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/[---]cium // Magical signs / Magical signs.					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	224	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	90 by 60	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910): n28 Besnier (1920): n29 CIL 13.11340.2					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
i) Nestoria					
iii) quam pep[erit]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
i) Nestoria					
iii) who gave birth					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Three fragments, only two have legible writing. Originally thought to be silver, but now correctly identified as lead.					

TabletID	225	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	450		
Dimensions (mm)	184 by 84	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Amphitheatre				
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n12 Besnier (1920) n18 CIL 13.11340.6 dfx 4.1.3/2					
Transcription					
quidquid adh[ibet P]/aca[n]us et advo[ca]/tus a[b]es					
Reconstructed text					
quidquid adh[ibent P]/aga[n]us et advo[ca]/tus (h)a[b]es					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Whoever you summon, Paganus, and the advocate you have.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Obs: Thick and large - too big to write in hand. Writing clumsy and irregular - possibly inexperienced writer.					

TabletID	226	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	175 by 95	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Amphitheatre				
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n24 CIL 13. 11340.3 AE 1911. 150; 2009. 907 Schwinden (1996): 233-4					
Transcription					
yibalfqorim/[<i>Magical signs</i>]/ydmxfus/ inabihtriarovestro[---] / [--] anametmartem/vincularesutmeuin/dicetisdeququma/ eusebuiminungulasobligetisetme/vindicetis//depostumeusebium					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/[---]/[---]/Inabihtriaro vestro [rogo?]/ [Di]anam et Martem / vinculares ut me vin/dicetis de Cucuma / Eusebuim in ungulas obligetis et me / vindicetis // Depos<i>tum Eusebium.					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I call upon Diana and Mars, the helping deities, that I be redeemed from the hothead. Torture and banish Eusebius, and liberate me. Eusebius is deposited.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Handwriting and formulae very similar to tablet 239 - possibly same author. In the magical signs at the top could be the name of Baal (?). Obs: deeply incised writing, shows through to back. Irregular edges - poured out & not cut to shape. Writing on back could be after rolling.					

TabletID	227	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	82 by 76	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n11 Besnier (1920) n17					
Transcription					
Primus					
Reconstructed text					
Primus					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					
Four lines of text, only the word Primus, in line 1, is legible.					

TabletID	228	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	110 by 74	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n14 Besnier (1920) n20 CIL 13.11340.12					
Transcription					
Matrona...					
Reconstructed text					
Matrona...					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Could be a curse on a wife/matron or an appeal to a mother goddess.					

TabletID	229	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	21 by 77	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n9 CIL 13.11340.14					
Transcription					
<i>Unrecognised charcters, perhaps magical?</i>					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	230	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 43	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n29 Besnier (1920) n30					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
[Magical signs] / [Magical signs] Deus.					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... god					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	231	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	82 by 185	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Amphitheatre			
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n13					
Besnier (1920) n19					
Transcription					
quidqu[---]/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
quidqu[id---]/[---]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Whatever...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	232	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)		Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n18 Besnier (1920) n21 CIL 13.11340.13					
Transcription					
Ursus[---]licus/neca[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Ursus[---]licus/neca[---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Ursus attested on another CT from Trier (241) Depiction of a human head, possibly wearing a helmet.					

TabletID	233	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 90	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	TheftMoney
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n.22 Besnier (1920) n.23 CIL 13.11340.7					
Transcription					
matrimoni[---]b[---] / amicorum[-]ba / reddat [---]/tiadamno					
Reconstructed text					
matrimoni[a A]b[ae et] / amicorum [A]ba / reddat [pre]/tia damno					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
The marriage of Aba and friends of Aba (are cursed). Aba returns the lost money.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	234	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
dfx 4.1.3/17					
Transcription					
loco sacrato // caca supra					
Reconstructed text					
loco sacrato // caca supra					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
in the sacred place // defecate above					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	235	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	86 by 127	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	OtherPrayerForJustice		
Latin	Amphitheatre				
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n26 Besnier (1920) n27 CIL 13.11340.5 dfx 4.1.3/11					
Transcription					
situostilliamqeeracatia/frauqimihifraudefe/deusnosteqiaudis[---]					
Reconstructed text					
si tu <H>ostillam q<ua>e e Racatia [nata est consumpseris] / {frau} q<u>i<a> mihi fraude<m> fe<cit> / deus nos te q<u>i audis[ti sacrificio colemus]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
If you Hostilla, who was born from Racatia, have destroyed, you who did wrong by me. God who has heard, we will honour you with sacrifice.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	236	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 77	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Amphitheatre			
Bibliography					
Wunsch (1910) n.23 Besnier (1920) n.24 CIL 13.11340.4 dfx 4.1.3/8					
Transcription					
inimicum[---]/[---] qui / [---] / [---] / iuate / Marti et Diane					
Reconstructed text					
inimicum[---]/[---] qui / [---] / [---] / iu<v>ate / Marti et Diane					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
enemy... who... help... Mars and Diana...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	237	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Unspecified	
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
dfx 4.1.3/16					
Transcription					
tibclaudiumtreverumnatione/germanumlibclaudiisimilisrogo/te domna isis ut illum profluvio/mittasetq uidquidinbonis/ habetinmorbummegarum					
Reconstructed text					
Tib(erium) Claudium Trev{e}<i>rum natione / Germanum lib(ertum) Claudii Similis rogo / te dom<i>na Isis ut ill{um}<i> profluvi{o}<um> / mittas et quidquid in bonis / habet in morbum megarum					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
(I curse) Tiberius Claudius Trevirus, a German and the freedman of Claudius Similis. I ask you, lady Isis, thus you send him flowing, and whatever he has in goods, in sickness in the Megaron.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	238	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	400		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 37	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Amphitheatre	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Wünsch (1910) n27 Besnier (1920) n28					
Transcription					
[---]/[---]/viro					
Reconstructed text					
[---]/[---]/viro					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	239	Province	Gallia Belgica	FindSite	Trier
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	88 by 112	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Gose (1972): 147-9					
Transcription					
[--]manusrestitutusquintu[-]/[---]rdushospessuccessus/florusromanafortu/natus					
Reconstructed text					
[Ro or Ger]manus Restitutus Quintu[s]/[---]rdus Hospes Successus / Florus Romana Fortu/natus					
Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
[Ro or Ger]manus Restitutus Quintu[s]/[---]rdus Hospes Successus / Florus Romana Fortu/natus					
Associated finds					
Notes					
List of names. Found in a Romano-Celtic temple within the Altbachtal temple complex (Bau 41).					

TabletID	240	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Autun
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	150 by 48	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Greek, Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Marcillet-Jaubert (1979): 185-6					
Transcription					
onesiforus/musclosus/carpus/attianus/neposveracis/titus//αβραα// <i>magical signs</i> αβρααξ <i>magical sign/</i> δαμναμευς/ κομπωθ/θιφεριθ/γωματου/αβαλθυθ/βιτωτορθ/δεθερθ					
Reconstructed text					
Onesiforus / Musclosus / Carpus / Attianus / nepos Veracis / Titus // magical names and signs					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Onesiforus / Musclosus / Carpus / Attianus / grandson of Verax / Titus // magical names and signs					
Associated finds					
Notes					
A list of names followed by magical signs and names in Greek, which are upside-down in relation to the Latin text and may be in another hand.					

TabletID	241	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Bernières-Sur-Seine
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	193 by 132	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	Unknown	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	Feugère and Martin (2005): 13-14				
Transcription	<i>No words, but lines and perforations that create a shape which resembles a temple façade divided into 7 to represent days of the week (?).</i>				
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	242	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Châteaubleau
EarliestPossibleDate	170	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	360 by 290	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		ceramic			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftLivestock
Celtic		Pit/Well			
Bibliography					
Mees (2011) RIG L-93					
Transcription					
nemnaliiumi beni ueionna incorobouido/neianmanbe gniiou apenitemeulle iexsetesi/sueregeniatu o quprinnopetamebissi ieteta/miii iegumi suante ueiommi petamassi papissone/suirexetesi iegiiinna anmanbe ieguisini/siaxsiou beiassunebiti moi upiiummiateri/xsi indore core nuana iegumisini beiassusete/sue cluio u sedagisamo cele uiro ionoue/iioibiie beiassusete rega iexstumisendi/me seingi papissonebeiassusetemetingise/tingibeiassuseteregarise iexstumisendi					
Reconstructed text					
nemna liiumi beni ueionna in coro bouido / nei anmabe gniiou ape nitime ueiie iexsetesi / sue regeniatu o quprinno petame bissiet <p>eta / miii iegumi suante ueiommi petamassi papissone / sue rex<s>etesi iegiiinna anmanbe iegum<m>isini / siaxsiou beiassu ne biti moi upiiummi ateri/xsi in dore core <a>nuana iegumisini beiassu sete / sue cluiou se dagisamo cele uiro iono ue/iioibii beiassu sete rega iexstumisendi / me se tingi papissone beiassu sete me tingi se / singi beiassu sete rega ri se iexstumidendi					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Mees (2011): O powers, I denounce the woman (who is) desiring the cattle contract. By the names (which are) knowing, may she not desire ownership. May you curse the one from the family (that is) purchasing. The worst suffering it shall ensure for. The worst torment I curse. For wanting I desire, perdition for Papissona. O (or So) may you fix (or curse?) her (by means of) a cursing. By the names I curse her. Let her not be seeking (my) punishment. I stipulate my rebinding into the bulling contract. O names (or powers?) I curse her. May you be punishing. May hearing this best companion, true (and) just be your desire. May you be punishing. O Straighteners (or Fixers). I have cursed her: for me, this binding, for Papissona, may you be punishing; for me, a binding, this binding, may you be punishing. O Straighteners, before this (binding), I have cursed this.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Inscribed on a tile.					

TabletID	243	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Évreux
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)		Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	dfx 4.2.2/2				
Transcription	optimiiovi // [---]si[---]				
Reconstructed text	Optimi lovi // [---]si[---]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Greatest Jupiter // ... if...					
Associated finds					
Notes	Several fragments, not all of which were inscribed. Written backwards.				

TabletID	244	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Évreux
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Unspecified	
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
dfx 4.2.2/1					
Transcription					
i) ut imin[---]/[---]refilium ii) [---]udver[---]/tibicur[---] iii) [---]ere[---] iv) vana v) quisq[ue---]/invitum					
Reconstructed text					
i) ut imin[---]/[---]re filium ii) [ali(?)]ud ver[---]/tibi cur[---] iii) [---]ere[---] iv) vana v) quisq[ue---]/invitum					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
thus... brother//... another... to you//...// empty//... whoever... forced					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Five fragments. Partly written backwards.					

TabletID	245	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Le Mans
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Unspecified	
Celtic	Pit/Well				
Bibliography					
RIG 2.2 L-104					
Transcription					
[-]ialos dmdm/iits naios viil/sdo/[-]ts carantiosii[--]/tu comacon[.--]// mailis x/uado iuxta / adutos[---]/etantonan /tuodentino/ credentes					
Reconstructed text					
[-]ialos dmdm/iits naios viil/sdo/[-]ts carantiosii[--]/tu comacon[.--]// mailis x/uado iuxta / adutos[---]/etantonan /tuodentino/ credentes					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
(Mees 2009) Field (dedicated?) to the spirits of the departed... Naios the son, the one Carantios... Comacos... // Evil (?)... I go nearby used up... and Antona(?) you... the consigned.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
On the reverse is a list of numbers with the Denarii sign (*) and maculine word endings in Latin - could be a price list or similar. The inscription may be funerary - DM could be for dis manibus - or a charm to protect a tomb.					

TabletID	246	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Lyon
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
dfx 4.2.3/1					
Transcription					
trivillia//sororem//matrem//livianus//acitius//casigus//cassius//ingunus//caducnius // sunt					
Reconstructed text					
Trivilla // soror // mater // Livianus // Acitius // Casigus // Cassius // Ingunus // Caducnius // sunt					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Trivilla // sister // mother // Livianus // Acitius // Casigus // Cassius // Ingunus // Caducnius // they are					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	247	Province	Gallia Lugdunensis	FindSite	Quartier Saint-Marcel
EarliestPossibleDate	300	LatestPossibleDate	340		
Dimensions (mm)		Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Celtic	Context	Grave	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	RIG 2.2 L-105				
Transcription	xirinnallisolicom/socsinconoiosuilsoci/asunna moiv				
Reconstructed text	Translation <input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Very uncertain reading. Possibly Christian (the first word might be kyrie), or possibly a backwards Celtic name ending in -rix.				

TabletID	248	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 114 CIL 12.5367.1 RIG L-97					
Transcription					
kantasniskat nisqie/rogamosetde/kiliusi/petamukiosot metat/savatenon ulaten/leranoetde [--] ruet/uxnesoapeteia [-]p[---]/eteleta/nesoa[--]la/nuki/[---]					
Reconstructed text					
kantas niskat nisqie/ rogam{o}<u>s et de kilitiusi / petamukiosot metat / sauate non ulaten / lerano et de [--]ruet / ux nesoapeteia [-]p[---] / et eleta / nesoia [--] la / nuki / [---]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... we ask the Nymphs(?) and...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	249	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 115 CIL 12.5367.2 RIG L-97					
Transcription					
nicasquite/rogamus[---]s/ssyatisnumema/s[--]niuelde la/res[--]nuquai/autete/cuma[--]					
Reconstructed text					
nicasquite/rogamus[---]s/ssyatis numema/s[--]niuelde la/res[--]nuquai/autete/cuma[--]					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
We ask the Nymphs (?)...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	250	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 116					
CIL 12.5367.3					
Transcription					
kenumenemaximieflaucre/illiussiroyes[---]queaantquid[--] ruid/asetiuatlaaokrios/ucaposimaatxexiaia/osniamcat[--]on[---]/ snoneuostirim/m[--] tatinum/ullxki[--]ki/ohir					
Reconstructed text					
kenumene maximie flaucre / illiussiroyes[---]quea ant quid[--]ruid / asetiuat laaokrios / ucaposima atxexiaia / os niam cat[--] on [---] / s non e uostirim / m [---] tatinum / ullxki [---] ki / ohir					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
most divine...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	251	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 120 CIL 12.5367.8 RIG L-97					
Transcription					
colos					
Reconstructed text					
colos					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	252	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 118 CIL 12.5367.6 RIG L-97					
Transcription					
axx[---]/[--]eaub[--]/axsonis					
Reconstructed text					
axx[---]/[--]eaub[--]/axsonis					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	253	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 119 CIL 12.5367.7 RIG L-97					
Transcription					
domxsaa/nis kasrog/mos et de / tamus / dinno / nn					
Reconstructed text					
dom<ina> xsaa/ Niskas rog/<a>m{o}<u>s et de/tamus / dinno / nn					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Lady Niskas we ask and curse(?)...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	254	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Amelie-les-Bains
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)		Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Celtic		Spring			
Bibliography					
DT 117 CIL 12.5367.4-5 RIG L-97					
Transcription					
demeti//amikiou					
Reconstructed text					
demeti // amikiou					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	255	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	L'Hospitalet-du-Larzac
EarliestPossibleDate	90	LatestPossibleDate	110		
Dimensions (mm)	260 by 140	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Celtic	Context	Grave	Motive	Juridical
Bibliography					
RIG 2.2 L-98					
Transcription					

Reconstructed text

(1a) insinde se bnanom bricto[m i]/n eianom anuana sanander[---]/na brictom uidluais uidlu[---]/tigontias so adsags ona seue[rim---]/tertionicnim lidssatim liciatim/eianom uoduuioderce lunget/utonid ponc nitixsintor si[es---]/duscelinatia in<ei>anon anuan[a---]/esi andernados brictom bano[na---]/flatucias paulla dona potiti[us---]/iaia duxtir adiegias poti[ta---]<m>/atir paullias seuera du[xtir---]/ualentos dona paulli[-]us/ adiega matir aias/ potita dona primus i[---]/ abesias

(1b) etic epotinosco et[ic---]/ruficna casta dona b[---]/ nonus co etic diligenti soc[---]/ ulatio nican om aucitionim[---]/ aterem potiti ulatucia mat[ir---]/ banonias ne incitas biontutu in/das mnas ueronadas brictas lissinau[e---]/ seuerim licinaue tertioni[cnim---]/ eiabi tiopritom biietutu semit[---]/ ratet seuera tertionica [---]du[---]/ ne incitas biontutus[---]/ anatia nepi anda[---]/[---] ad incorsonda b[---]/[---]pi[-]lu dore con[-]s[---]/incarata

(2a)[---]a senit connectos[---]/[---]jonda bocca nene[---]/[---]rionti onda boca ne[---]/[---]on barnaunom ponc nit/ixsintor sies eianepian/ digs ne lisatim ne licia/tim ne rodatim biont/utu semnanom sagitiont/ias seuerim lissatim licia/tim anandognam acolut[---]/ utanit angodnam a[---]/ da bocca[---]/ diomine[---]

(2b) aia[---]cicena[---]/ nitianncobuedlidat[---]/iasuolsonponne/ antumnos nepon / nesliciatia neosuode / neiauodercos nepon / su[---] biiontutu se mn/anom adsaxs[-]nadoc[---]/ suet petidsiont sies / peti sagitiontias seu[er]im tertio lissatim[---]/[---]s anandogna[---]/[---] ictontias[---]

Translation ☒ New English translation

(1a) In this, this enchantment of women, upon their names, those hereunder, the enchantment of the seeress, the seeress of this binding, O Adsagsona, look twice upon Seuera Tertionica, their diviner, their restrainer, so that she shall commit it when they are bounded by malediction. Upon their names, the enchantment of them, the group below: Banona (daughter) of Vlatucia, Paulla foster-daughter of Potita, Aia daughter of Adiega, Potita mother of Paulla, Seuera daughter of Valens, foster daughter of Paulla, Adiega mother of Aia, Potita foster daughter of Prima, ... (daughter) of Abesia

(1b) and also the fated: including Rufena Casta foster-daughter of Banona, including Caius Vlationicnos, (and) Aucitiona mother of Potita, they have been bound; Vlatucia mother of Banona. These enchanted women above shall not be unaffected by it. Either the divining of Seuera or the restraining of Tertionica shall be purchased by them through it, this, the women. Seuera Tertionica ensures that [the women] shall not be unaffected by it, this... by the malediction (?) of the one below, shut their [mouths?]. ... fosterage... enemy...

(2a) [Just a]s she is holding their mouths tied so (too) are their mouths no[t be]aring judgement on anyone when they are bound by it of the infernal one. Neither diviner nor restrainer nor offerer shall be any one of the women for it, this they who are persecuting Seuera the diviner, the restrainer, the stranger, a local that shall live nearby her. Power their mouths do not...

(2b) May Aia... Cicena be restrained by the evil of the diviner, not that the one in the underworld is neither a restrainer not someone twice, not someone who looks upon. Just as they shall be for it this (enchantment) of the women, O Adsagsona, so too consequently will they suffer. Cause them to suffer the one who are persecuting Seuera Tertionica, the diviner of it, the foreigner of the enchanting.

Associated finds

Found on top of a funerary urn of a woman called Gemma

Notes

Two conjoining fragments inscribed on both sides. Connections unsure, but strong evidence in favour of the order 1a 1b 2a 2b
One sentence at the start of 2b is in a different hand, but the curse is continuous.

TabletID	256	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Montfo
EarliestPossibleDate	50	LatestPossibleDate	60		
Dimensions (mm)	100 by 85	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	OtherPrayerForJustice, TheftUnspecified		
Latin	Pit/Well				
Bibliography					
Marichal (1981): 41-51					
Transcription					
quomodohocplumbunon/paretdecadetsicdeca/dataetasmembravita/bosgranommereoruqui/mihidolummalufecerunt/idemasuetemeos/secundiaqueillumtulitetverrestearus//etamarantiset/hocomniavobisdii/interdicoinomni/ bussortebustamcelebrare/masitlatidaconcinerenecra/cantumcol[--]scantumet/omnesdeos[---]/tadatus[---]					
Reconstructed text					
quomodo hoc plumbu<m> non / paret decadet sic deca/dat aetas membra vita / bos gran{o}um mer<x> eoru<m> qui / mihi dolum malu fecerunt / idem Asuetemeos / Secundina que illum tulit / et Verres Tearus // et Amarantis et / hoc omnia vobis dii / interdico in omni/bus sortebus tam celebrare / Masitlatida concinere necra/cantum Col[--]scantum et / omnes deos [---]/ ta datus[---]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Just as this lead disappears and falls, thus falls their youth, limbs, life, ox, grain and goods, those who did me wrong, namely Asuetemeos, Secundina who stole it, and Verres Tearus // and Amarantis and all that is yours, oh gods, I forbid (them) by all spells to celebrate the Masitlatida and to sing the Necrocantus... and all gods... is given...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Tearus is an ethnic name from Tarraconnensis. Masitlatida is unknown, but may be some local festival.					

TabletID	257	Province	Gallia Narbonensis	FindSite	Pontaix
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	17 by 29	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context	House	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography	CAG 26: 496 n.3 ILN 7 Appendix II				
Transcription	soiilos//REHQ/A				
Reconstructed text	Soiilos // REQH/A				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes	Soiilos is unattested, but may be error for or related to Sollius or Solius.				

TabletID	258	Province	Germania Inferior	FindSite	Bodegraven
EarliestPossibleDate		LatestPossibleDate			
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 75	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Unknown			
Bibliography					
AE 2007.1029 Haalebos and Polak (2007): 114-122					
Transcription					
clodium cattium saturninum/cabrunum boebium alcimum/lupum sscantium escingium/placidum iulium etsigum/campanum pastorem avernales/castidium silium sictsiveoro[--]/atrectum telesinum quom[---]/protum[---]iscum ut[---]/ingentum					
Reconstructed text					
Column 1: Clodium / Cabrunum / Lupum / Placidum / Campanum / Castidium / Atrectum / Protum Column 2: Cattium / Boebium / <S> Scantium / Iulium / Pastorem / Silium / Telesinum / [Pr]iscum / Ingenum Column 3: Saturninum / Alcimum / Escingium / Etsigum / avern[ales] / sic tsi v eo ro[go?] / quom[odo. . .] / ut[. . .]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
List of names... thus... I ask the infernals (?) just as...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Found by a metal detectorist. The term 'avernaes' suggests the curse is addressed to the infernal gods - i.e. Lacus Avernus, sacred to Proserpina and Hecate (CIL 10. 3792). Find site was a military post, so the names are possibly soldiers, divided into units.					

TabletID	259	Province	Germania Inferior	FindSite	Cologne
EarliestPossibleDate	40	LatestPossibleDate	70		
Dimensions (mm)	82 by 27	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Blänsdorf, Kropp and Scholz (2010): 272-6					
Transcription					
aut sercis acareau/coh odomoc saga eseurep/tseutpircsesreurep// s[-]bons[-]tpoxe diuqdiuq/muutupacni/taineue					
Reconstructed text					
Vaeraca sic res tua/ perve<r>se agas quomodo hoc/ perverse scriptu<m> est // Quidquid exopt[a]s nob[i]s/ in caput tuum/ eveniat					
Translation <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
Vaeraca, thus it is with your case: you act perversely, even as this writing is perverse. Whatsoever you wish for us shall come down on your head.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written backwards, R to L. Rare mention of tortured writing affecting accursed person.					

TabletID	260	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Avenches
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 125	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	OtherPrayerForJustice
Bibliography	Frei-Stolba (2002): 115-120				
Transcription	mariuscinnessuus/eteumqiexin/cocilavitaequa/avita				
Reconstructed text	Marius Cinne<m> suum / et eum q<u>i exin / co<n>ciliavit aequa<m> / a vita				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Marius wants his Cinna, and the man who was then given to someone else, to both die (?).					
Associated finds	Nail which served to attach it.				
Notes	Written R to L. May be an allusion to a prostitute.				

TabletID	261	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Frankfurt
EarliestPossibleDate	130	LatestPossibleDate	170		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Juridical	
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
dfx 5.1.2/1 Blänsdorf and Scholz (2011) 66-76					
Transcription					
rogomane[---]/infernuiut[--]/riusfronto[---]/ersariu[-]sex[---]/sitvanusneq/ueloquipos/[-]itcontra/[-] extumut[---]ontofiat/ mutusq/[-]accesser[---]//consular/[-] mutsit/mutusne/quepossi[---]/loquinequequi[-]quamag[-]/retanqu/amnullo/ adinf[---]/re[---]					
Reconstructed text					
rogo mane[s et(?)] dii(?) / inferni ut [Ma]rius Fronto [adv]/ersariu[s] Sex[tii] / sit vanus neq/ue loqui pos/[s]it contra / [S]extum ut F[r]onto fiat / mutus q/[um] accesser[it] // consular/[e]m ut sit / mutus ne/que poss[it] / loqui ne/que qui[c]quam ag[e]/re tanqu/am null[o]<um> /ad inf[eros] / re[ligatum(?)]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
I ask the spirits of the dead and the infernal gods that Marius Fronto, enemy of Sextus, be untrustworthy and not be able to speak against Sextus, thus Fronto is made mute, when he will approach the consular legate, thus he is mute and not able to speak or to do anything, just as nothing is bound to those below.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	262	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Frankfurt
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	150		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Juridical	
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
dfx 5.1.2/1 Blänsdorf and Scholz (2011) 66-76					
Transcription					
[-]nimicossexti ut[-]icon[-]ossint[---]/[-]rasext[-]facueniu/necager[-]oquicq[---]/possint utsic/vanietmuti q[---]/di et illiqui in[---]toac[---]/[---]lotumloquiva[---]ntinus et[---] tu[---]/to et ripanus et le[---]/ etiuuentinum[---]/ etluci[-]s et [---]car[---]/[-]rontonem[---]/aliadversari[---]/sintvani et m[---]/[---]omodiistacar[---]/[---]s					
Reconstructed text					
[Defero/Defigo? i]nimicos Sexti ut / [h]ic non possint [con/t]ra Sext[i] facu[ndiam] / nec agere [o?] quicq/[uam] possint, ut sic / vani et muti <sint> q[uomo]/di et illi qui in / [hoc monument]to [i] ac[ent] // [in il]lo tum loqui Va[le]/ntinus et [---] tu[---] / to et Ripanus et Le[---] / et luventinum [---] / et Luci[u]s et [---] Car[um et] / [F]rontonem [---] / ali<i> adversari<i> [---] / sint vani et m[uti] / [qu]omodi ista gar<r>u[la] / [avi]s [---]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
(I fix?) the enemies of Sextus, thus in this way they may not be able to go against the eloquence(?) of Sextus nor do anything, thus in this way they should be useless and mute just as those, who lie in this grave // At this place be unable to speak Valentinus and Fronto and Ripanus and Le... and luventinus... and Lucius and Carus and Fronto... the other enemies... be useless and mute like this talkative bird(?)					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	263	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Groß-Gerau
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	103 by 87	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	TheftClothing		
Latin	Unknown				
Bibliography					
AE 2007.1049 Blänsdorf (2007): 61-5					
Transcription					
siuqmunamu/sinoireutilutsus/sereuismuloillap/sunimsuilliuqsuilli/setnemsuillituticef/euissatceied sairomem/ suiucsaeuismereilum/ticefsunimsersinoireu/tupacsunamsuillitu/reuercnacsemreusedep/rbmemte retniodutim/ teretnisuillisalludema					
Reconstructed text					
<h>umanum qui{s} / sustulit Verionis / palliolum sive res / illius qui illius minus / fecit ut illius mentes / memorias deiectas sive / mulierem sive eas cuius / Verionis res minus fecit / ut illius manus caput / pedes uermes cancer uer/mitudo interet membr/a medullas illius interet					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
The person who has stolen the cloak of Verio or his possession, that he made decreased, thus his thoughts and memories are destroyed, whether a woman or those, whoever has reduced the property of Verio; worms, tumours and vermin shall invade his hands, head and feet, they shall invade his limbs and marrow.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written R to L but with errors and corrections					

TabletID	264	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Groß-Gerau
EarliestPossibleDate	90	LatestPossibleDate	150		
Dimensions (mm)	135 by 35	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	House	Motive	OtherPrayerForJustice
Bibliography					
Scholz and Kropp (2004): 33-40 AE 2004. 1006					
Transcription					
deummaxsimeatthistyranne/totumqueduodecatheumcomme/ndodeabusiniuriumfasutmevindic/ tisaprisilacarantiquenubereera/uitpermatremdeumuestrae/uindicatesacrapater[--]/priscil[-]/pere at// permatremdeumintradiesccito/vindicatenumenuestrummagnum/apriscillaquaedetegitsacrapris/ cillamusquamnullamnumeronu[-]/sitgentemtrementepriscilla/quamer/rante					
Reconstructed text					
deum max{s}ime Atthis Tyranne / totumque duodeca theum comme/ndo deabus iniurium fas ut me vindic/<e>tis a Priscil<l>a Caranti (filia) quae nubere er<r>a /vit per matrem deum vestrae / [v]indicate sacra Pater[na] / P[ri]scil<l>>[a] / pere[at] // per matrem deum intra dies C(?) cito / vindicate numen vestrum magnum / a Priscilla quae detegit sacra Pris/cillam <n>usquam nullam numero nu[p]/sit gentem tremente Priscilla / quam er/rante					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Greatest of all gods, Atthis, lord, all of the twelve gods. I commend to the goddesses my unjust fate, that you may avenge me to Priscilla, daughter of Carantus, who married mistakenly. Through your great mother of the gods, avenge the secrets of Paternus (or the inherited secrets). Priscilla should perish. // Through the great mother of the gods, avenge your great divinity soon, within one hundred days, to Priscilla that betrays my secrets! Priscilla I consider to be absolutely null and void. She married a no-good, because Priscilla (that is) horny as crazy.					
Associated finds					
An as of Vespasian (RIC 482)					
Notes					
Found under a house, probably that of Priscilla.					

TabletID	265	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	50	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 130	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 98 CIL 13.2.1.7554 dfx 5.1.4/5					
Transcription					
valetissintosivealiiinimici/valentinussintoinimicus siccomdiplumbum/subsidet sic sintonem etmartialemsinto/etadiutorium sintonisetquisquiscontra/rubriumfr[---] metmequaritonem/siquicontraueneritsintonemetaduito/ riumeiussintonisdeferoadinfero/sicnusquamcontranos nisserespon/niscumloquanturinimici sicdesumat/nonparentemtanquaminferos					
Reconstructed text					
Sinto Vale<n>tis sive alii inimici / Sinto Valentinus inim<i>cus sic {c}<qu>om<o>di plumbum /subsidet sic Sintonem et Martialem Sinto[nis] /et adiutorium Sintonis et quisquis contra / Rubrium fr[at]em et me Quaritonem / si qui<s> contravenerit Sintonem et aduito/rium eius Sintonis defero ad infero<s> /sic nusquam contra nos [inve]nisse(?) respon[sio]/nis cum loquantur inimici sic desumat / non parentem ta{n}<m>quam inferos					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Sinto Valentis or any other enemies. Sinto Valentinus the enemy, just as this lead will fall, so shall fall Sinto and Martialis of Sinto and the assistant of Sinto and whoever is against Rubrius my brother and me Quartio, if anyone will have opposed (us), I give Sinto and the assistant of Sinto to the infernals. Just as nowhere against us... when enemies speak. In the same way that he does not choose a parent, he does not choose the infernals.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	266	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	25	LatestPossibleDate	75		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Grave			
Bibliography					
Oxé (1926):	145				
Transcription					
datanominahaec/adinferos					
Reconstructed text					
data nomina haec / ad infernos					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
These names have been given to the infernals.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	267	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	150		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 107	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 101 CIL 13.2.1.7551 dfx 5.1.4/8 Klein (1891): 136					
Transcription					
inimicietininimici/caranita[-]i abiliusiueni/sabinusap[-]aritorarriadardisaoptatus/silonisprivatu[---] vericossusmaesi/ marcusaerari[--]attamarciuxsor/camulauxso[-] gamatiambitival/ciriatticinus[--] monisterentiusatti/ soiuliaattisonisnarcisuscaliponis/calipu[--]nti[---]tpudentisetspudes/[---]ssia[---] usalbusvicinus/[---]nsi[---]// (left margin) sictemorboadicantdiim// (right margin) [---]diiinferi[---] sunt					
Reconstructed text					
inimici et inimici / Caranita[n]i Abilius lu<v>enis / Sabinus ap[p]aritor Arria Dardisa Optatus / Silonis Privatu[s Se]veri Cossus Maesi / Marcus aerari[us] Atta Marci ux{s}or / Camula ux{s}o[r] Gamati Ambiti Val[erius]/ Ciri Atticinus [Am]monis Terentius Atti/so Iulia Attisonis Narcis<s>us Caliphon[t]is / Cali[pu]nti[s e]t Pudentis et Pude<n>s / [---]ssia[---]us Albus Vicinus/[---]nsi[---]// (left margin) sic te morbo a<d>dicant dii m[anes]// (right margin) [---]dii inferi[---]sunt					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
The enemies and enemies of Caranitanus: Abilius Iuvenis, Sabinus the clerk of the court, Arria Dardisa, Optatus son of Silo, Privatus son of Severus, Cossus son of Maesus, Marcus the aerarius, Atta the wife of Marcus, Camula the wife of Gambatus Ambitus, Valerius son of Cirus, Atticinus son of Ammo, Terentius Attiso, Iulia (wife of) Attiso, Narcissus son of Caliphons, Calipuntis and Pudentus and Pudens... Albus Vicinus... // thus will the gods of the dead condemn you to sickness. // ... the infernal gods are...					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	268	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	50	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 65	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 99 CIL 13.2.1.7555.4 dfx 5.1.4/6 Weckerling (1887): 65					
Transcription					
[-]ansu[-]t[us]/se[un]ina/etomnesquiilli/ass[-]ntetdoc[-]n[un]m					
Reconstructed text					
[M]ansu[e]t[us] / Se[cund]ina / et omnes qui illi / a{s}<d>s[u]nt et doc/[e]n[t illu]m					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Mansuetus, Secundina and all those who are present and inform him (?).					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	269	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	50	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 90	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 102 CIL 13.2.1.7552 Klein (1891): 144					
Transcription					
[---]everinuset santcius/[---]roin[-]e[-]is nomina/[---]sere aut sic mihi/[---]non respondat/[---]respon[---] t/[---]erin[---]/[---]ia/[---]in sunt					
Reconstructed text					
[Se]verinus et Sanctius / [defe]ro in[f]e[r]is nomina / [---]serea ut sic mihi / [---]non respondat / [---non] respond[da]t / [--- Sev]erin[us---] // [---]ia / [---]in sunt					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Severinus and Sanctius, I bear their names to the infernals... just as to me... not answer... not answer... Severinus... //... they are					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	270	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	50	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	55 by 80	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 97 CIL 13.2.1.7555.iii					
Transcription					
datanomina/adinferaslaruas//dismanibushosu/lcelichaeb[---]/etsiquosalioshos/habeo/necaillano m[---]					
Reconstructed text					
data nomina / ad inferas larvas // dis manibus hos v(oveo?) / L(ucium) Celi(um) C(aium) Haeb[---] / et siquos alios hos[tes] / habeo / neca illa nom[ina]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
These names were given to the infernal evil spirits // I vow these to the Manes: Lucius Celius, Gaius Haeb... and if I have any other enemies. Kill these names.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	271	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	69	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	103 by 72	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
DT 96 CIL 13.2.1.7553					
Transcription					
inimicorum/nominaad/[---] lum/inferos/[---]//inimicorumnomina/optatussilonisadinfe/ros/faustusornatus(?)/ terentiusattisso/atticinusammonis/latinusvaleri/adiutoriuli/tertiusdomiti/masuetussenodatium(?)/m ontanusmateriarius/ aniniusvictor/quartioseveri/sinto valentis/lutumaruslanius/similiscrecidentis/lucaniussilonis/communismercatoris/ publiusoffector/aemiliussilvanus//cossusmatuini					
Reconstructed text					
inimicorum /nomina ad / [---]lum / inferos /[---]// inimicorum nomina / Optatus Silonis ad infe/ros/ Faustus Ornatus(?)/ Terentius Attisso/ Atticinus Ammonis / Latinus Valeri / Adiutor Iuli / Tertius Domiti / Masuetus Senodatium(?) / Montanus materiarius/ Aninius Victor/ Quartio Severi / Sinto Valentis/ Lutumarus Ianius / Similis Crescentis / Lucanius Silonis / Communis Mercatoris / Publius the dyer(?) / Aemilius Silvanus // Cossus Matuini					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
The names of the enemies (are given) to... the infernals. // The names of the enemies to the infernals: Optatus son of Silo, Faustus Ornatus, Terentius Attisso, Atticinus son of Ammo, Latinus son of Valerius, Adiutor son of Iulius, Tertius son of Domitius, Masuetus son of Senodaecmus(?), Montanus the timber merchant, Aninius Victor, Quartio son of Severus, Sinto son of Valens, Lutumarus the butcher, Similis son of Crescens, Lucanius son of Silo, Communis son of Mercator, Publius the dyer, Aemilius Silvanus // Cossus son of Matuinus					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	272	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	45 by 55	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Juridical
Bibliography					
DT 95 CIL 13.2.1.7555.ii					
Transcription					
fructusgra/cilisetaurum/aditorium/def[---]/i[---]/ris//sicnonpos/sitrespo[---]/requis[---]					
Reconstructed text					
Fructu{s}<m> Gra/cil{is} et Aur<e>um / adi<u>torium /def[ero] / i[nfer]/ris // sic non pos/sit respo[nde]/re qua<e>s[tionibus]					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation I bring Fructus Gracilis and Aureus the adiutorium to those below. // Thus may he not be able to respond to questioning.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
Same victim as on Tab 273, and found in same grave.					

TabletID	273	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	1	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	25 by 60	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Juridical
Bibliography					
DT 94 CIL 13.2.1.7555.i					
Transcription					
Fructus // Gracilis					
Reconstructed text					
Fructus // Gracilis					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Fructus // Gracilis					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Same victim as on Tab 272, and found in same grave.					

TabletID	274	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	150		
Dimensions (mm)	105 by 100	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Juridical		
Latin	Grave				
Bibliography					
Oxé (1926): 144					
Transcription	potitusfusiadu[---]/iuisumvallimarullum/pusionismaxsumuspriuni/[--] rvinumpaternimatu/rumsuavisturicumma/ crisulpiciumsecundani/[---] prudentemsolvedi/mensormarullinovim[---]/marullis[---]ssecunda[-]/[---]eslitisva[---]estdatur				
Reconstructed text	Potitu{s}<m> Fuscus adv[ersarium?] / Ivisum Valli Marullum / Pusionis Max{s}imu{s}<m> Priuni / [Ne]ervinum Paterni Matu/rum Suavis Turicum Ma/crisulpicium Secundani / [---] Prudentem Solve<n>di / Mensor Marulli Novim[arum?] / Marulli s[ervo]s Secunda[m] / [---]es[---] litis va[nus?] est datur				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Potitus, the enemy(?) of Fuscus, Iuisus of Vallus, Marullus of Pusio, Maximus of Priunus, Nervinus of Paternus, Maturus Suavis, Turicus of Macrus, Sulpicius of Secundanus ... Prudenta of Solvendus, Mensor of Marullus, Novimarus, the slaves of Marullus, Secunda... is (in) vain, are given.					
Associated finds					
Notes	List of names, possibly opponents in a trial. Names in genitives could be petitioners, patronymics or slave owners - ambiguous.				

TabletID	275	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Bad Kreuznach
EarliestPossibleDate	50	LatestPossibleDate	100		
Dimensions (mm)	48 (diameter)	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Love
Latin		Grave			
Bibliography					
DT 100 CIL 13.2.1.7550 Klein (1891): 130					
Transcription					
nomina/data[---]/tale[---]/adinferos/u[-]illosperuim/[-]orrip[-] ant//silonia/surumcae/nu/secundum/illete/ponsuspro/ catilumamo					
Reconstructed text					
nomina / data [dela]/ta le[gata] / ad inferos / u[t] illos per vim / [c]orrip[i]ant // Silonia<m> / Surum Cae/nu<m> / Secundum ille te / <s>ponsus pro/cat il<l>um amo					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
The names have been given, delivered, entrusted to the infernals, so that they seize them by force. Silonia, Surus, Caenus, Secundus. That which has been vowed urges you. I love him.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	276	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 40	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 25					
Transcription	lamixa/zerita//. . .juilli/ancilam				
Reconstructed text	Lamixa<m> / Zerita<m> // . . .juilli / ancil<l>am				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation Lamixa Zerita // slave of ...uillius				
Associated finds					
Notes	Pierced by 9 holes around the edges.				

TabletID	277	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	45 by 35	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 22					
Transcription					
sore//eros					
Reconstructed text					
Eros // Eros					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Same name, written backwards on one side and forwards on the other.					

TabletID	278	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	33 by 55	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 23					
Transcription	minicius/campanus/martianuss/armicus/severumtes/serarium/cantarum/equitem				
Reconstructed text	Minicius / Campanus / Martianus{s} / Armicus / Severum tes/serarium / Cantarum / equitem				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Minicius Campanus, Martianus Armicus (curse) Severus the tesserrarius and Cantarus the cavalryman.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Tesserarius is a low military rank. Legionnaires cursing their officers (?).				

TabletID	279	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	53 by 20	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 24					
Transcription	veicuna/vassvea				
Reconstructed text	Veicuna / Vassvea				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	280	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 40	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 26					
Transcription	valeriaquinta/marci/valereama/[---]arc[---]berta/v[-]leri[---]/quint[-]				
Reconstructed text	Valeria Quinta / Marci / Valerea {Ma} / [---M]arc[i li]berta // V[a]leri[a] / Quint[a]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation	Valeria Quinta of Marcus, Valerea the freedwoman of Marcus // Valeria Quinta			
Associated finds					
Notes	Folded once.				

TabletID	281	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 42	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 27					
Transcription					
sassa (or saffa?)/mixa					
Reconstructed text					
Sassa (or Saffa?) / Mixa					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Sassa // Mixa					
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	282	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 45	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 28					
Transcription	[---]osman[-]v[-]e/ocsorsetoincoursen/mednocemotou[-]/orecmiuni[-]o[---]e[---]/isdouqtnali[-] eal/euatnaedoussi[-]emes//oipicedteorefefett[-]i[-]jouio/ouedsoe[-]muc[-]ao[-]/[-] tesmutefxeteu/musomniamu[-]nas/ so[-]mteuouedistan[---]/mo[-]gaen[-]epareuie				
Reconstructed text	e[-]u [-]namso[---]/nes ruocniotesrosco/ uoto me condem/[n]e[s] o[-]in uim cero/lae[-]ilant quodsi/ seme[-]is suo deanta ue// oivo[-]i[-]ttepe fero et decipio/[-]oa[-] cum [-]eos deuo/uet exitum(?) set[-] / sa[-]num animosum / [dam]nat si deuoue<t> m[e]os / eiuerape[-]neag[-]om				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
[---]/[---]/ you should oblige me to fulfill the oath... they fear... if but... // I carry and deceive (?) when he curses her, death (?) [curses] the healthy, the lively... when he curses my...					
Associated finds					
Notes	Very corroded, so text difficult to read. Unsure whether L to R or R to L - intentionally made harder to read. Second side contains a counter-curse				

TabletID	283	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 60	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 34					
Transcription					
	sext[-]s/c[-]alui[--]r/iicc/[---]us				
Reconstructed text					
	Sext[u]s / C(aius?) [S]alui[us?] R[---]/iicc/[---]us				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	284	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 26	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 33					
Transcription					
	cxfmīy // sviif OR cafmīy // svef				
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					

TabletID	285	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	18 by 35	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Love
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 32					
Transcription					
	[---]q[---]/[---]t[---]/q[---]i/[---]u(?) upru[---]				
Reconstructed text					
	[---]q[---]/[---]t[---]/q[---]i/[---]u(?) <st>upru[m---]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	... debauchery...				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	CT still rolled.				

TabletID	286	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	113 by 40	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM	21				
Transcription	trutmoflorus/clitmonis/filius				
Reconstructed text	Trutmo Florus / Clitmonis / filius				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation Trutmo Florus, son of Clitmo				
Associated finds	Found near a magic doll pierced by six nails, and deliberately broken and twisted, An oil lamp, and pot and some unburned fruit pips.				
Notes	Patronymic used - matronymic more common on Italian and North African CTs.				

TabletID	287	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	70 by 35		Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 30					
Transcription					
	c[-]aicoixiut/tarat/acqmu/ (markings) in (markings) / r				
Reconstructed text					
	c[-]aicoixiut/tarat/acqmu/ (markings) in (markings) / r				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
	10 nail holes, mostly around the edges, three of which don't piece all the way through. The text is unclear, and line 4 contains geometric markings.				

TabletID	288	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	70 (diameter)	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 31					
Transcription					
sun/ooi uia/liiv m					
Reconstructed text					
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
Round tablet. Reading unclear.					

TabletID	289	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	85 by 45	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 12					
Transcription					
sic[---]ssiccum quanmi/qu[---]dihoc liquescet/se[---]lum membra/me[---]lla peculium/d[-]l[-]ques[---] nt//eoru quamodum/gallorumangatse/s[---]lla aga ut de se/[---]obant tu domna es/facutxmensibus/exitumillorum/sit					
Reconstructed text					
sic[---]s siccum quanmi / qu[omodo] di hoc liquescet / se [--- sic co]llum membra / me[du]lla peculium / d[e]l[i]ques[ca]nt // eoru<m> quamodum gallorum angat se / s[ic i]lla aga<t> ut de se / [pr]obant(?) tu dom<i>na es fac ut X mensibus / exitum illorum / sit					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Just as when the dry (?)... just like this will melt away, thus may the neck, the limbs, the marrow, the property melt away // from them. In the way that the <i>galli</i> trouble themselves, so shall it go for her, just as they prove (?). You are the Lady, make that her death comes within ten months.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
List of body parts. Some common with other DTM - marrow, limbs - others unique - neck. May be continuation of DTM 11 (?)					

TabletID	290	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	80 by 50	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 29					
Transcription					
sariuspaniusfistoigno/roqe[-]us oxiporu[---]euti/cotimpe[-]ius deos[---]ici is/piduosemirum/sereno[-]suo h/ cumdeadullae[-]/miluiut miu[-]// an					
Reconstructed text					
Sariu(s) Spanius fisto igno/roq<u>e [-]us oxiporu[---] euti/cotimpe[-]ius deos[---]ici is/ piduose mirum / Sereno [-] suo h/ cum dea dullae[---] / miluiut miu // an					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Sariu(s) Spanius... I ask (?)... law (?) gods... wonderful... for your Serenus... than when the goddess... // ...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Was struck 8 times with a small blunt instrument after inscribing.					

TabletID	291	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	100 by 80	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM	19				
Transcription	[---]i/[---]na/[---]ibra/[---]iateceu/sudnucereu/sacaanas/sattos/sal[-]m				
Reconstructed text	i[---]/an[---]/ Arbil[---] / Veceta i[---] / Verecundus / (nec?) sana agas (or sacaanas) / sottas (or Sattos) / malas				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation	...Arbil[ensis] Veceta... Verecundus, sorceresses (?) (or you shall not have a healthy life) Sattos, the evil.			
Associated finds					
Notes	Damaged by melting.				

TabletID	292	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	60 by 76	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 18					
Transcription					
	adiut/or/sic a clasci/rru calssci/s aes				
Reconstructed text					
Main text:	Adiut/or Clas<s>ici / C<l>a{l}ss<i>ci / aes (or At(t)is) Left column: Sic A/rru/s				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	Adiutor (slave or freedman) of Classicus, of Classicus, money (or Attis). So (writes) Arrus.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Written in awkward ORC with many mistakes.				

TabletID	293	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	130 by 40	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 20					
Transcription	ce[-]conius/anudrius				
Reconstructed text	Ce[-]conius / Anudrius				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes	Traces of earlier inscription on front and back - waste piece. Could be one name or two. Folded twice.				

TabletID	294	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	63 by 47	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 17					
Transcription					
	puinnonius/primus/spaiaie c				
Reconstructed text					
	P(ublius) Vinnonius / Primus / spaiaie c				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Clumsy writing and uses guidelines - not a professional scribe. May be a left-hander.				

TabletID	295	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)	135 by 60	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	TheftUnspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 16					
Transcription					
fo[-]tunamdolus/q[-]otti[-]ised/oeimoed[---]apriu/uailo[--]u[.]oemi/itnaier oancnui // iromemmetnem/ atigocrocma/siuqsuiu[-]limut/p[-]nocmuemmertap/s illietius					
Reconstructed text					
Fo[r]tunam dolus / q[u]otti[diē---]i sed (or q[u]ot ti[b]i sed) / uir pa(tri?)[---] deo meo / i meo [-] u [sp]oliau[it] / iuncnao reianti // mentem memori/am cor cogita/tum il[le q]uisquis / patrem meum con[s]p[exit?] / illi et ius (or R to L sui te illi)					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Fortuna the cunning everyday... but (or how many to you, but) a man the father... my god... has stolen my... // mind, memory, heart, thoughts and those, whoever looked at (?) my father, to them also the law (?)					
Associated finds					
Nail corroded in situ.					
Notes					
Lines variously written R to L and L to R - no pattern. Nail driven through after writing but before rolling. Unlikely for display is it destroys part of the text, and would leave the back unreadable.					

TabletID	296	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	102 by 105	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
DTM 15					
Transcription	<p>pri // (five lines spiralling around the edges of the CT)</p> <p>primaaemilianar/cissiatquidquidco/nabaturquidquidaget/ omniailliinuersumsit// (nine lines written l to r in centre of CT)</p> <p>sicillanuncquam/quicquamflorescat/amentitasurgata/mentitasuasresagat/quidquidsurgetom/niain teruersumsur/ gattrimanarcissi/agacomohaeccarta/nuncquamflorescet</p>				
Reconstructed text	<p>pri // Prima Aemilia Nar/cissi agat quidquid co/nabatur quidquid agat / omnia illi inver/sum sit / amentita surgat a/mentita suas res agat / quidquid surget om/nia interversum sur/ gat</p> <p>prima Narcissi / aga<t> como haec carta / nuncquam florescet / sic illa nuncquam / quicquam florescat</p>				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
<p>Thus should, Prima Aemilia, (the lover) of Narcissus, fare: whatever she will attempt, whatever she will do, let it all go wrong. Insanely she should rise, and insanely go about her business. Whatever shall rise, so shall all (her things?) rise wrongly. May this befall Prima, the lover of Narcissus: just as this letter will never flourish, so shall she never flourish.</p>					
Associated finds					
Notes	<p>The writer began the curse normally, then turned the tablet over and changed to a more 'magical' writing style. The inversion of the text mirrors the intention, which seeks to invert the actions of the victim. Potentially written by a professional.</p> <p>Other CTs with edge-text: DT 218, 227, 241, 244, 276-284. These are mostly surrounded by magical formulas, but some are a continuation of the main text, as in this example.</p> <p>Could be a curse on a rival, perhaps in a legal dispute.</p>				

TabletID	297	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	200	LatestPossibleDate	300		
Dimensions (mm)			Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	Unspecified	
Latin	River				
Bibliography					
dfx 5.1.5/1					
Transcription					
Reconstructed text					
	trad/o(?) hermem // <i>magical signs</i>				
Translation	<input type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Written backwards and partly mirrored.				

TabletID	298	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	95 by 60	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 13					
Transcription	cassiusfortuna/tuse[-]bonailliuset/lutatia restituta/necetis e[---]				
Reconstructed text	Cassius Fortuna/tus e[t] bona illius et / Lutatia Restituta / necetis e[os]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Cassius Fortunatus and his fortune and Lutatia Restituta: kill them.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Curses the fortune of the man, as well as himself.				

TabletID	299	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	123 by 267	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	OtherPrayerForJustice, TheftJewellery		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
DTM 1					
Transcription	matermagnaterogo/p[-]r[-] uasacraetnumentuum/gemellafiblasmeasqualis/sustulitsicetillamrequis/ adsecetutnusquamsanasi[-]/quomodogallisesecarunt/siceaelisnecsesecetsicuti/plantumha[--] atquomodo/ etsacrorumdeposierunt/insanctosicettuumuitam/ualetudinemgemella/neque hostisnequeau/ronequeargentoredi/ merepossisamatre/deumnisiutexitum/tuumpopulusspectet/uerecundametpater/namsicillamtibico m/ mendomaterdeum/magnaremilloruminaecrumodeouisqua/lerogocosumment[-] r/quomodoetresmeasure/ squefraudaruntnecse/possintredimere/nechosteislanatis//necplumbis/necauronecar/gentoredim ere/ anuminetuo/nisiutillasuorent/canes/vermesadque/aliaportenta/exitumquarum/populusspectet/ta mquamquaecorro/ lauderescomme[---]/duas/tamquaniuscauer{sso}/scriptisistas/ae riss[-] adricis[-]s[-]lon/a[-]illassiillascistas/ caecasaureasfecra/e[--]i[-]lo[--]as/ov[-]eis[-]mancas a				
Reconstructed text	Mater magna te rogo / p[e]r [t]ua sacra et numen tuum / Gemella fiblas meas qualis / sustulit sic illam requis / adsecet ut nusquam sana si[t] / quomodo galli se secarunt / sic ea<m?> uelis nec se secet sic uti / planctum ha[be]at quomodo / et sacrorum deposierunt / in sancto sic et tuam uitam / ualetudinem Gemella / neque hosti<i>s neque au/ro neque argento redi/mere possis a matre / deum nisi ut exitum / tuum populus spectet / Verecundam et Pater/nam sic illam tibi com/mendo Mater deum / magna rem illorum / in aecrumo deo uis qua/le rogo co<n> summent[u]r / quomodo et res meas uire/sque fraudarunt nec se / possint redimere / nec hosteis lanatis // nec plum{i}bis / nec auro nec ar/gento redimere / a numine tuo / nisi ut illas uorent / canes / uermes adque / alia portenta / exitum quarum / populus spectet / tamquam {c} quae forro / I [-] auderes comme[ndo] / duas /tamquaniuscauer{s}so/ scriptas istas /ae riss[-] adricis[-]s[-]lon/ a[-]illassiiillascistas / caecas aureas fecra /e[-] i [-]lo[-]as/ov[-]eis[-]mancas a				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation Mater Magna, I ask you, by your sanctuary and your divine power: Gemella, who has stolen my brooches, I ask you that she also cuts herself, so no part of her is healthy. Just as the <i>galli</i> have cut themselves... so you should make her do. And may she not cut herself, so that she may have grounds to lament. Even as... they laid the holy objects in the temple, thus you should not be able to redeem your life and your health from the mother of the gods, Gemella, neither with sacrificial animals nor with gold nor with silver, unless the people watch your death. Verecunda and Paterna: thus I give her to you, great Mater Magna, their property... as I ask that it is enforced on them, as they have cheated my fortune and my strength, and these should not be able to be redeemed with woolen offerings. // Neither through lead nor through gold nor through silver can they redeem themselves from your divine power, unless dogs, worms and other monsters devour them. May the people watch their death... just as those who... two... as when the law in an adverse way... by that which is written they... they, when they [someone takes?] those hidden golden boxes... mutilated...				
Associated finds					
Notes					

Eds - Each side written in a different hand - different writers cursing on the same occasion, but using different formulas.
Seems like two separate curses - Gemella for stealing brooches, and Verecunda and Paterna for damaging fortune and strength. Second curse may be a counter-spell (?)

TabletID	300	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	75 by 40	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Embezzlement
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 11					
Transcription					
	mando etrogo/religione utman/dataexagatis/publium cutium/et piperionem et//placida etsacra/filiaeiussic illorum/membraliquescan/quatmodumhocplum/bum liquescet uteo/ru exsitumsit				
Reconstructed text					
	mando et rogo / religione ut man/data exagatis / Publium Cutium / et Piperionem et // Placida et Sacra / filia eius sic illorum / membra liquescan<t> / quatmodum hoc plum/bum liquescet ut eo/ru<m> excitum sit				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
	I hand over and ask with attention to ritual, that you require from Publius Cutius and Piperion the return of the goods entrusted to them. Also // Placida and Sacra her daughter: thus may their limbs melt away, as this lead will melt away, so that it is their death.				
Associated finds					
Notes					
	Names well attested in inscriptions. Curse refers to all four people. Attests melting of tablet as the end of the ritual.				

TabletID	301	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	100 by 38	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 10					
Transcription	mando etrogo liber/tacerialis utea ext[---]a/ipiuti fac[-]atisutse plan/gat[---]elitse quatmodum/arcigallise// co[-]lisibissetasfacia[--]s/[--]itamesesduosuteo/rumixsitumaudiam/[-]d[-] liquescantquatm/modihocliquescet[---]				
Reconstructed text	mando et rogo liber/ta Cerialis ut ea ext[r]a / ipiuti (ipsam?) fac[i]atis ut se plan/gat [--- u]elit se quatmodum / arc(h)igalli se // co[-]li sibi settas (sectas?) facia[ti]s / [--]ita me<n>ses duos ut eo/rum ixsitum audiam / [-]d[i]liquiscant quat{m}/modi hoc liquescet [---]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I hand over and ask: that you make the freedwoman (of?) Cerialis except [herself], so that she strikes herself [and] will herself... just as the <i>archigalli</i> themselves. // for you obtain supporters (?), so that in this way for two months... that I hear their downfall, and they melt away, as this will melt away.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Cerialis could be the patron of the freedwoman, or the freedwoman herself. Archigalli are high priests of Mater Magna, so probably another reference to their cutting. Probable reference to ritual of melting the tablets after writing.				

TabletID	302	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	50 by 25	Material		<input type="checkbox"/> Folded	
		lead		<input type="checkbox"/> Pierced	
				<input type="checkbox"/> Rolled	
				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 9					
Transcription					
fusicumcommendo/tibi itaultipeslerae/uttueumnusquams/setresolugtumad[-]/rsarium ma[-]um					
Reconstructed text					
Fusicum commendo / tibi ita ultipeslerae/ ut to eum nusquam s / set resolu{g}tum adu[e]/rsarium ma[l]um					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I hand Fuscus over to you, so that... that you him nowhere... the distraught ones, the enemies, the evil ones.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Fuscus is a common name.					

TabletID	303	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	65 by 65	Material	lead	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Temple	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
DTM 8					
Transcription	asreuonatiua/ibitonod/mutargte/ibiton[---]/[---]tnamseme[---]				
Reconstructed text	Avita<m> nover{s}<c>a<m> / dono tibi / et Gratum / [do]no tibi / [---]e mesmant[---]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I give to you Avita, the stepmother, and I give to you Gratus...					
Associated finds					
Notes	Written R to L. Family dispute?				

TabletID	304	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	160 by 53	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
			lead		
Language		Context		Motive	TheftJewellery, TheftMoney
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 7					
Transcription					
quisquis nobissustulit saccluminquopecunia erat/eteampecuniam et anulosaureos[---] quoddes[--]na[-]/ tumestXIKfebriqpsc[--]siuedolum[-]alumadhib[---]/mod[-]hocgraphphioauerso quodminime uti soletsic[---]/ auersumdiideaeque[--]ssesineati[-]s et[-] minibussiqui[---]/manucontiguit[-]idaequ[--]quomodi[-]tho[-]sucusdefluite[---]/ hocplumbumussucui[---]geumdesti[---]ueesseuelit[---]/sicutinnocentiam[---]jest siindea[---]unn creu					
Reconstructed text					
quisquis nobis sustulit sacc <u>u</u> lum in quo pecunia erat / et eam pecuniam et anulos aureos [referat] quod des[ti]na[-]/tum est XI K(alends) Febr(uarias) q(uae) p(roximae) s(unt) c [--] siue dolum [m]alum adhib[et --- quo-] / mod[i] hoc graphphio auerso quod minime uti solet sic [eum] / auersum dii deae(e)que[--- e]sse sin{e}at[i]s et [ho]minibus siqui[s hunc] / manu contig{u}it [-]id aequ[e--] quomodi [- e]t ho[-] sucus defluit e[---]/ hoc plumbum ussu cui[---]geum desti[natum] ue esse uelit[---] sicut innocentiam [---]est si in dea[---]unn creu					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Whoever has stolen the purse from us, in which there was money, and brings back this money and the gold ring, that which is set for the 11th Kalends of February, or when he used fraud... Just as this inverted (hostile) pencil, which is not in the least, as is normal, so... shall you gods and goddesses be hostile to him, and all men, if anyone has touched (this purse) with a hand, these as well, just like from these the sap flows out, [...] this lead through application (?)... will, that [...] or that is determined... just as the innocence... is, when by the goddess...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Gods and goddesses means Osiris, Attis, Isis and Mater Magna - principle deities of the temple. Legalistic structure.					

TabletID	305	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	275 by 105	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Unspecified		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
DTM 6					
Transcription	<p>quintu minhactabuladepon[-]auersum/se suisquerationibus uitaque male consum/mantem itauti gallibellonariue abscideruntconcide/runtuese sicilliabscissasitfidesfama faculit[-] snecilli/innumerohominumsunt nequeillesit q[-]omodi etille/mihi fraudemfecit sicillisanctamater magn[-]et relegis/cuncta itautiarbor siccabit se insancto sicutilli siccet/fama fidesfortuna facultas tibicommendoattihidmine/utmeuindices abeo utin traannumuertente[---]exitum/illius uilem [---] malum[---] (At right angles to rest of text) ponit nomhuiusmari/tabus i siagaturulla/res utilissicillenobis/utilissitsuocorpore/ sacrari horribis</p>				
Reconstructed text	<p>Quintum in hac tablua depon[o] auersum / se suisque rationibus uitaque male consum/mantem ita uti galli Bellonariue absciderunt concide/runtue se sic illi abscissa sit fides fama faculit[a]s nec illi / in numero hominum sunt neque ille sit q[u]omodo et ille / mihi fraudem fecit sic illi sancta Mater Magn[a] et relegis[t]i / cuncta ita uti arbor siccabit se in sancto sic et illi siccet / fama fides fortuna facultas tibi commendo Atti hi d<o>mine / ut me uindices ab eo ut intra annum uertente[m ---] exitum / illius uilem malum (At right angles to main text) ponit nom<en> huius mari/tabus i si agatur ulla / res utilis sic ille nobis / utilis sit suo corpore / sacrari horr[i]<e>bis</p>				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
<p>In this tablet I curse Quintus, who has turned away, who badly completes his principles and those of his life. Just as the <i>galli</i> or the priests of Bellona have cut or castrated themselves, so shall loyalty, reputation and ability be cut off, and just as they are not numbered among men, so should he not be. Just as he has betrayed me, so Mater Magna, take everything from him/you have... taken. Just as the tree in the temple will dry up, so shall his reputation, loyalty, his happiness, his ability dry up. To you I give the instruction, Lord Attis, that you free me from him, so that within the turn of a year... his death, the low, evil. (At right angles to the main text) He/she names the name of this man to the wives. If any useful thing is done, so he should be useful to us through his body. You should tremble at being cursed.</p>					
Associated finds					
Notes	<p>Under "in sancto sic et illi" is inscribed, upside-down "Quinti nomen" = "the name of Quintus." Mentions the ritual of bringing a tree into the temple - a festival in March. Part at right-angles is written in a different hand. "The wives" are Isis and MM. Only tablet from Mainz to refer to Isis, and only cryptically. Use of just the praenomen means petitioner could be a family member - moral motive, rather than legal. Rhetorical devices of alliteration and repetition.</p>				

TabletID	306	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	115 by 100	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 5					
Transcription	bonesanteatthistyran/neadsiadueniaslibera/li iratusperomnia terogo/domine pertuum castorem/pollucem per cistaspenetra/les deseimalammentem/malumexitumquandius/uitauixerit utomnicor/pore uideatse emori prae/teroculos // nequesepossitredimere/nullapercunianullaquere/neq absteneque abullodeo/nisiut exitummalum/ hocpraestarogotoperma/iestatemtuam				
Reconstructed text	Bone sancte Attis tyrannus, ne adsi aduenias Libera, iratus per omnia te rogo / domine per tuum Castorem / Pollucem per cistas penetra, les des ei malam mentem / malum exitum quandius / uita uixerit ut omni cor/pore uideat se emori prae/ter oculos // neque se possit redimere / nulla pecunia nullaque re / neque abs te neque ab ullo deo / nisi ut exitum malum / hoc praesta rogo te per ma/iestatem tuam				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Good holy Attis, Lord, help (me), come to Libera in anger. I ask you by everything, Lord, by your Castor (and) Pollux, by the boxes of the sanctuary, give him a bad mind, a bad death, so long as he lives, so he may see himself dying all over his body, except the eyes // and that he cannot redeem himself with money or anything else, neither from you nor from some other god, except with a bad death. Grant this, I ask you by your majesty.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Unspecific prayer for justice, or pre-emptive strike. Written in ORC, composed in classical Latin with rhetorical structure. Only two other CTs to Attis - one from Groß-Gerau, and one from Salacia (Portugal)				

TabletID	307	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	120 by 55	Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 4					
Transcription	tiberiusclaudiusadiutor/inmegaroeumrogotema/t[-] rmagnamegarotuore/cipiasetattisdominete/precoruthucostiamaccep/ tumabiatisetquitagetagi/natsaletaquailfiatitatu/faciasdomnaitquidcoreocorona/cedat//deutumde fictum/illummenbra/ medullasaa/nullumaliudsit/attismatermagn[-]				
Reconstructed text	Tiberius Claudius Adiutor / in megaro eum rogo te Ma/t[e]r Magna megaro tuo re/cipias et Attis domine te / precor ut hu<n>c <h>ostiam accep/tum <h>abiat is et quit aget agi/nat sal et aqua illi fiat ita tu / facias dom<i>na it quid cor eocorona / c<a>edat // deuotum defictum / illum menbra / medullas {aa} / nullum aliud sit / Attis Mater Magn[a]				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Tiberius Claudius Adiutor: in the Megaron I ask you, Mater Magna receive him into your Megaron. And Lord Attis, I ask you, just as you shall accept him as an offering, and what he does and undertakes, shall be as salt and water for him. So you should do, Lady, that which kills the heart, the liver. // Cursed and bound, those in limbs and marrow. Nothing else should be, Attis, Mater Magna.					
Associated finds					
Notes	First side written in capitals, but with two letters in ORC. Second side all ORC - two different writers (?). Possibly an imperial freedman. Salt and water mentioned. Alliterative pairs.				

TabletID	308	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	160 by 90	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language	Context	Motive	Embezzlement, TheftMoney		
Latin	Temple				
Bibliography					
DTM 3					
Transcription	rogotedominamater/magnauttumeuindices/debonisfloriconiugisme/quimefraudautilattius/seuer usquemadmod[--]/ hocegoauersescriboscilli//omniaquidquidagitquidquid/aginatomniailliauersafiant/utsaletaquaillieu eniat/ quidquidmiabstulitdebonis/floriconiugismeirogote/dominamatermagnaauttu/deeomeuindices				
Reconstructed text	rogo te domina Mater / Magna ut tu me uindices / de bonis Flori coniugis mei / qui me fraudauit Ulattius / Severus quemadmod[um] / hoc ego auerse scribo sic illi // omnia quidquid agit quidquid / aginat omnia illi auersa fiant / ut sal et aqua illi eueniat / quidquid mi abstulit de bonis / Flori coniugis mei rogo te / domina Mater Magna ut tu / de eo me uindices				
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
I ask you, Lady Mater Magna, that you avenge me in the matter of the fortune of my husband Florus. The one who has deceived me, Ulattius Severus: just as I write this wrongly, so shall // everything that he does, everything he undertakes, everything should go wrongly for him. Like salt and water shall it go for him. Everything he has taken away from me from the fortune of my husband Florus, I ask you Lady Mater Magna, that for this you avenge me.					
Associated finds					
Notes	Too thick to be rolled (2 mm). Sympathetic magic of salt and water. Petitioner may be a widow?				

TabletID	309	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	186 by 175		Material	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
			lead		
Language	Context		Motive	TheftMoney	
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 2					
Transcription					
quisquidolum malum adm[---]ohacpecun[-]a[---] / illemelioretnosdet[---]ores sumus[---]/mater deum tupersequerisperterrasper[---]/ardosetumidosperbenedictumtuummeto[---]/pecunia dolummalumadhibetut tu perse[---]/ galli sesecantetpraaciduntu[-]riliasua sicil[---]r s q/ intercidatmelorepec[---]bisidis[---]que seadmisissene[nec]---]/ hostiisi[-]atisnequist[---]nequesut[-] tisneque auronque/argentonequeillisolui[---]ficiredimi possit quomodo galli/ bellonarimagal[-]sibi sanguin[---]feruentemfunduntfrigid[---]/adterram uenitsicet[---]ciacopiacogitatummentes[---]/ admodum deeis gallo[-]u [---]galorum bellon[---]/spectat qui de eapecuniadolummalum[---]/exitum spectent eta[---]emmodum sal in[---]/cet sic stillimembram[---] ullaex tabescant cr[-]s[---]/ etdicatseadmisissene[nef]sd[-]mandotibi rel[---]/ ut me uotis condemneset utlaetuslibenseatibireferam/ side eo exitum malum feceris					
Reconstructed text					
quisquis dolum malum adm[isit de] hac pecun[i]a [---]/ ille melior et nos det[eri]ores sumus[---]/ mater deum tu persequeris per terras per [maria per locos]/ ar<i>dos et umidos per benedictum tuum et o[mnes]--- qui de hac / pecunia dolum malum adhibet ut tu perse[quaris illum]--- quomodo / galli se secant et praacidunt uir[i]lia sua sic il[le]--- r s q / intercidat melore pec[tus ---] bisidis [ne]que se admisisse nec[---] / hostiis si[n]atis nequis t[---] neque sut[-]tis neque auro neque / argento neque ille solui [re]fici redimi possit quomodo galli / bellonari magal[i] sibi sanguin[em] feruentem fundunt frigid[us] / ad terram uenit sic et [---]cia copia cogitatum mentes [quem]/admodum de eis gallo[r]u[m] ma[gl]orum bellon[ariorum] sanguinem or ritus? / spectat qui de ea pecunia dolum malum [admisit sic illius] / exitum spectent et a[d] qu[em] em modum sal in [aqua liques]/cet sic et illi membra m[ed]ullaex tabescant cr[a]s [ueniat] / et dicat se admisisse nef[a]s d[e]mando tibi rel[igione] / ut me uotis condemnes et ut laetus libens ea tibi referam / si de eo exitum malum feceris					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation				
Whoever has committed fraud regarding this money, ... that (person) is the better (off?) and we are the worse (off ?) ... Mother of the gods, you pursue all across the lands, all across [the seas], all across the dry and wet places, through the one that you praise (= the dead Attis) and [all]... whoever has, with regard to this money committed fraud, you should pursue [them]... [Just as] the <i>galli</i> cut themselves and chop off their genitals, so shall they... cut their chest (?) ... and that he neither did anything wrong nor that he [... and you should not] allow that they neither through sacrificial animals nor with... nor with gold nor with silver can be freed, liberated from the curse, can be redeemed. Just as the <i>galli</i> , the priests of Bellona and the <i>magali</i> shed hot blood (and) it comes to the earth cold, in this way also all the... ability, thought, reason... just as he watches [the blood or the ritual] of the <i>galli</i> , the <i>magali</i> and the priests of Bellona... [he who committed] the fraud of this money... [so should] they watch his death. And just as salt [will become liquid] in (water), so shall his limbs and marrow waste away. Tomorrow [he should come], and say that he has committed the crime. I give to you the instruction in religious form, that you fulfil my wish and that I will happily and willingly reciprocate, when you have made over them a horrible death.					
Associated finds					
Notes					

Elegant ORC hand and rhetorical style (alliteration, repetition etc).
Melting has destroyed around 20% of the text.
Sympathetic magic - the thief's limbs and marrow are to waste away like dissolving salt.
Comparisons drawn to the rituals and actions of MM's priests and the punishments to be inflicted on the thief. Public death and public rituals.
Crime reinterpreted as sacrilege.
Only case of a sacrificial pledge from Mainz.

TabletID	310	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Mainz
EarliestPossibleDate	65	LatestPossibleDate	130		
Dimensions (mm)	110 by 65	Material	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete		
		lead			
Language		Context		Motive	Unspecified
Latin		Temple			
Bibliography					
DTM 14					
Transcription					
essi[-]isa[---]atu/cteqtcoa se[---]t[-]enuc[---]o/osach[-]xitum[-]pectare/indisnau[-]xmiceui/et merogas[-]st/ etmartis//sot[-]p[---]s s c[-]ticot//pr[---]uloumsicco[---]di/ecosrumnonire/[---]m[-] guno[-]oi/[---]um[-]sti/[---]misom[---]					
Reconstructed text					
essi[-]isa[---]atu/cteqtcoa se[---]t[-]enuc[---]o/osach [e]xitum [s]pectare/indisnau[-]xmiceui/et me rogas [-]st/ et Martis// sot[-]p[---]s s c[-]ticot//pr[---]uloum Sicco[---]di/ecosrum non ire/[---] M[o] guno[-]oi/[---]um[-]sti/[---]misom					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
... watch the death... and you ask me... and of Mars... // ... of [...]iccus... of [...]siccus that the step-father (?) does not go... of Mogunus...					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Mogunus is attested elsewhere both as a god and a personal name (RIB 1226; CIL 12.3724). Tutelery deity for Mainz (Mogontiacum). No clear indication of why Mars is mentioned. No indication that the front and back are related.					

TabletID	311	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Roßdorf
EarliestPossibleDate	100	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	45 by 38	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Grave	Motive	Unspecified
Bibliography					
Nuber (1996): 241-4					
Transcription					
gnhor/ininl/arar/icus//flava/finita					
Reconstructed text					
Gn(aus) Hor[at]/ini(us) [G]n(aei) l(i)bertus / Arar/icus // Flav[i]a Finita					
Translation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	New English translation			
Gnaeus Horatinius freedman of Gnaeus, Araricus, Flavia Finita.					
Associated finds					
A pot, under which the tablet was found.					
Notes					
List of names. Some letters written mirror-imaged, some others written upside-down.					

TabletID	312	Province	Germania Superior	FindSite	Rottweil
EarliestPossibleDate	75	LatestPossibleDate	200		
Dimensions (mm)	102 by 53	Material	lead	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pierced <input type="checkbox"/> Rolled <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Complete	
Language	Latin	Context	Unknown	Motive	TheftJewellery
Bibliography					
Nuber (1984): 377-84					
Transcription					
eatangmalbif/tuatiualouniiuq/iminatse roilemiuq/mulli tu oicsnoc/icafmusreva mallitua/tse cohtucisidtna // iuqtemusreva/ sussuealliser/tilut					
Reconstructed text					
fib<u>lam Gnatae / qui involavit aut / qui melior est animi / conscio ut illum / aut illam aversum faci/ant di<i> sicut hoc est // aversum et qui / res illaeus sus/tulit					
Translation <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New English translation					
Whoever has stolen the brooch of Gnata, or whoever is an accomplice. As the gods make that (man?) or that (woman?) wrong like this (word) is wrong, and whoever has stolen that thing.					
Associated finds					
Notes					
Written R to L on an ansate tablet. Some letters upside-down, especially in "aversum" on the reverse.					

Appendix 2

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Aba	233	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Abesia	255	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Abilius	267	Victim	Male	LatinAndCeltic	
Acitius	246	Victim	Male	Latin	
Adiegia	255	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Adiegia	255	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Adiutor	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Adiutor	292	Victim	Male	Latin	Freedman/woman, Slave
Aemilius Paterinus	205	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aemilius Silvanus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aesibuas	80	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Aessicunia	19	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Aeternus	55	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aia	255	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Alauna	19	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Albus Vicinus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Alcimus	258	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Alocus	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Alogiosa	11	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Amarantis	256	Victim	Male	Latin	
Ammo	267	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Ammo	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Aninius Victor	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Annianus	19	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Anniola	62	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Annula Regula	218	Matronym	Female	Latin	
Antonius	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Applicius	83	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aprilis	214	Victim	Male	Latin	
Araricus	311	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Arminia	92	Petitioner	Female	Latin	
Arria Dardisa	267	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Arrus	292	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Asedis	211	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Asiaticus Addedillus	205	Victim	Male	LatinAndCeltic	
Asueteleos	256	Victim	Male	Celtic	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Atavacus	184	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Atidenus	127	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Atrectus	258	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Atta	267	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Attianus	240	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Atticinus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Atticinus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Auctiona	255	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Augustalis	66	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aunillus	184	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Aurelius	128	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aurelius Saturninus	137	Victim	Male	Latin	
Aureus	272	Victim	Male	Latin	
Austus	83	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Avita	303	Victim	Female	Latin	
Avitianus	19	Victim	Male	Latin	
Avitus	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Banona	255	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Banona	255	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Basilia	20	Petitioner	Female	Greek	
Belator	83	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Belcatus	55	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Belia	21	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Bellaus	55	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Bellinus	55	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Biccus	171	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Bitilus	6	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Boebius	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Branderix	207	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Bregissa	207	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Brigomalla	55	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Brituenda	68	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Brituenda	67	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Brucerus	60	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Butu	1	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cabrunus	258	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Caducnius	246	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Caelianus	131	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Caelius	205	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Caenus	275	Victim	Male	Latin	
Calaminus	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Caliphons	267	Petitioner	Male	Greek	
Calipuntis	267	Victim	Male	Greek	
Calliopis	19	Victim	Male	Greek	
Campanus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Camula	267	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Camulorix	155	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Camulus	212	Victim	Male	Latin	
Candidianus	83	Victim	Male	Latin	
Candidina	19	Victim	Female	Latin	
Cantarus	278	Victim	Male	Latin	Citizen
Cantissena	73	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Canus Dignus	154	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Caranitanus	267	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Carantios	245	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Carantus	264	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Carinianus	83	Victim	Male	Latin	
Carinus	135	Victim	Male	Latin	
Carinus	197	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Carpus	240	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Carus	262	Victim	Male	Latin	
Casigus	246	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cassius	246	Victim	Male	Latin	
Cassius Fortunatus	298	Victim	Male	Latin	
Casticius	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Caticnos	211	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Catinus	61	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Catonius	55	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cattius	258	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Catus	66	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Ceanatis	135	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Celerianus	19	Victim	Male	Latin	
Cenacus	162	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Cennosus	134	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Cerialis	301	Victim	Female	Latin	Freedman/woman
Cinna	260	Victim	Female	Latin	
Cirus	267	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Civilis	54	Petitioner	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Civilis	79	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Civilis	81	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Clarentius	156	Victim	Male	Latin	
Classicus	292	Patron	Male	Latin	
Claudius	205	Victim	Male	Latin	
Claudius Legitumus	205	Victim	Male	Latin	
Claudius Similis	237	Patron	Male	Latin	
Clitmo	286	Patronym	Male	Germanic	
Clodius	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Comes	135	Victim	Male	Latin	
Comitianus	66	Victim	Male	Latin	
Comitinus	136	Victim	Male	Latin	
Communis	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Compedita	21	Victim	Female	Latin	
Consortius	135	Victim	Male	Latin	
Constans	127	Victim	Male	Latin	
Constitutus	127	Victim	Male	Latin	
Cossus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Cossus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Covitius	184	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Crescens	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Cuamiina	56	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Cundacus	127	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunedecanes	135	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunitius	61	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Cunittus	135	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunoaritus	127	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunomolius	61	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunomoltus	160	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunomorinus	160	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cunovendus	134	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Cunsa	48	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Cunsus	48	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Cupitianus	96	Victim	Male	Latin	
Cupitus	133	Victim	Male	Latin	
Decentinus	11	Victim	Male	Latin	
Deomiorix	18	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Dercomognus	214	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Didius	206	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Dido	211	Victim	Female	Greek	
Diogenis	124	Petitioner	Male	Greek	
Docca	51	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Docigenius	87	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Docilianus	60	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Docilina	11	Victim	Female	Latin	
Docilinus	170	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Docilis	11	Victim	Male	Latin	
Docillina	157	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Docilosa	11	Victim	Female	Latin	
Docimedis	48	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Docimedis	65	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Domitia Attiola	137	Victim	Female	Latin	
Domitius	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Dracontius	83	Victim	Male	Latin	
Enestinus	136	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Enica	77	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Epinus	156	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Eridunna	211	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Escingius	258	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Espeditus	2	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Eterna	148	Victim	Female	Latin	
Etsigus	258	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Eumolpus	211	Petitioner	Male	Greek	
Euopius	156	Victim	Male	Latin	
Eusebius	226	Victim	Male	Latin	
Euticia	63	Victim	Female	Greek	
Euticius	19	Victim	Male	Greek	
Exsactor	61	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Exsibuus	78	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Exsibuus	80	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Exsuperantius	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Exsuperatus	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Exsupereus	66	Victim	Male	Latin	
Exsuperius	45	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Faustus Ornatus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Felicianus	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Flavia Finita	311	Victim	Female	Latin	
Florus	239	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Florus	308	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Fortunatus	239	Victim	Male	Latin	
Fotius	211	Petitioner	Male	Greek	
Fronto	262	Victim	Male	Latin	
Fructus Gracilis	272	Victim	Male	Latin	
Fructus Gracilis	273	Victim	Male	Latin	
Fuscus	302	Victim	Male	Latin	
Fuscus	274	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Gaius Vlationicnus	255	Victim	Male	LatinAndCeltic	
Gauis Lucius Florus Nigrinus	205	Victim	Male	Latin	Citizen
Gemella	299	Victim	Female	Germanic	
Germanilla	66	Victim	Female	Latin	
Germanus	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Gnaeus	311	Patron	Male	Latin	
Gnaeus Horatinus	311	Victim	Male	Latin	Freedman/woman
Gnata	312	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Gratus	303	Victim	Male	Latin	
Gunsula	19	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Hermo	156	Victim	Male	Greek	
Hilarianus	160	Victim	Male	Latin	
Honoratus	173	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Hospes	239	Victim	Male	Latin	
Hostilla	235	Victim	Female	Latin	
Ingenus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Ingenuus	39	Victim	Male	Latin	
Ingenuus	55	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Ingunus	246	Victim	Male	Latin	
Innocentius	83	Victim	Male	Latin	
Iovina	66	Victim	Female	Latin	
Iovinus	206	Victim	Male	Latin	
Iscessilios	208	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Iugenuinus	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Iuisus	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Iulia	267	Victim	Female	Latin	
Iulius	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Iulius	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Iunctinus	157	Victim	Male	Latin	
Iuens	267	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Iuventinus	262	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Iuventius	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Kaesio	214	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lamixa Zerita	276	Victim	Female	Celtic	Slave
Latinus	19	Victim	Male	Latin	
Latinus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lavidendus	61	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Lentinus	203	Victim	Male	Latin	
Leontius	206	Victim	Male	Latin	
Leontius	206	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Liberalis	306	Victim	Male	Latin	
Linus	6	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Livianus	246	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lochita	133	Victim	Female	Greek	
Locinna	19	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Longinus	157	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lothuius	80	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Lovernisca	75	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Lucanious	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Luccianus	55	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Lucianus	69	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Lucila	189	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Lucillus	55	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Lucius	262	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lucius Celius	270	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lupus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Lutatia Restituta	298	Victim	Female	Latin	
Lutumarus	271	Victim	Male	LatinAndCeltic	
Lutura	209	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Maesus	267	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Magnus	69	Victim	Male	Latin	
Mallianus	69	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Mansuetus	268	Victim	Male	Latin	
Marcellianus	69	Victim	Male	Latin	
Marcellinus	81	Victim	Male	Latin	
Marcus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Marcus	280	Patron	Male	Latin	
Marcus Victorinus	205	Victim	Male	Latin	
Maria	48	Victim	Female	Latin	
Marinianus	55	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Marinus	14	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Marinus	67	Victim	Male	Latin	
Marius	260	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Marius Fronto	261	Victim	Male	Latin	
Martia	140	Victim	Female	Latin	
Martialis	265	Victim	Male	Latin	
Martianus Armicus	278	Petitioner	Male	Latin	Citizen
Martina	140	Victim	Female	Latin	
Martinianus	219	Victim	Male	Latin	
Marullus	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Masentius	80	Victim	Male	Latin	
Maslorius	135	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Masuetus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Matarnus	55	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Materna	19	Victim	Female	Latin	
Mattonius	61	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Matuinus	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Maturus	211	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Maturus	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Matutina	19	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Maximus	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Melidone	156	Victim	Female	Greek	
Mellossus	189	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Melussus	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Memorianus	127	Victim	Male	Latin	
Memorina	67	Victim	Female	Latin	
Mensor	274	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Mercator	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Methianus	61	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Minantius	21	Victim	Male	Latin	
Minervina	61	Victim	Female	Latin	
Minianus	66	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Minicius Campanus	278	Petitioner	Male	Latin	Citizen
Minicus	61	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Minius	184	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Mintla Rufus	180	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Minura	184	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Minuvassus	189	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Molonius	207	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Montanus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Morivassus	81	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Motius	136	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Muconius	130	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Musclosus	240	Victim	Male	Latin	
Mutata	69	Victim	Female	Latin	
Narcissus	267	Victim	Male	Greek	
Natalinus	162	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Neocarinos	211	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Nervinus	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Nestoria	224	Victim	Female	Greek	
Nigella	134	Victim	Female	Latin	Slave
Nimincillus Quintinus	157	Victim	Male	Latin	
Novimarus	274	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Oconeia	76	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Oneratus	127	Victim	Male	Latin	
Onesiforus	240	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Optatus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Optatus	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Paganus	225	Victim	Male	Latin	
Paltucca	19	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Papissona	242	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Pastor	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Patarnianus	55	Victim	Male	Latin	
Paterna	299	Victim	Female	Latin	
Paulla	255	Victim	Female	Latin	
Peminius Novalis	159	Victim	Male	Latin	
Peregrina	170	Victim	Female	Latin	
Peregrinus	19	Victim	Male	Latin	
Petiacus	80	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Petronius	199	Victim	Male	Latin	
Piperion	300	Victim	Male	Latin	
Pisso	19	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Placida	300	Victim	Female	Latin	
Placidus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Plautius Nobilianus	137	Victim	Male	Latin	
Postuminus	19	Victim	Male	Latin	
Potentius	55	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Potitia	255	Victim	Female	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Potitia	255	Matronym	Female	Latin	
Potitus	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Prima	255	Matronym	Female	Latin	
Prima Aemilia	296	Victim	Female	Latin	Freedman/woman
Primanus	197	Victim	Male	Latin	
Priscilla	264	Victim	Female	Latin	
Priscus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Prissia	217	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Privatus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Protus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Prudenta	274	Victim	Female	Latin	
Publius	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Publius Cicereius Felix	138	Victim	Male	Latin	Citizen
Publius Cutius	300	Victim	Male	Latin	
Publius Vinnonius Primus	294	Victim	Male	Latin	Citizen
Pudens	267	Victim	Female	Latin	
Pudentus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Quartio	265	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Quartio	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Quintus	239	Victim	Male	Latin	
Quintus	305	Victim	Male	Latin	
Racatia	235	Matronym	Female	Latin	
Regalis	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Restitutus	239	Victim	Male	Latin	
Rigomandus	134	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Riovassus	81	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Ripanus	262	Victim	Male	Latin	
Rodanus	218	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Romana	239	Victim	Female	Latin	
Romanus	239	Victim	Male	Latin	
Rubrius	265	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Rufedo	134	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Rufina Casta	255	Victim	Female	Latin	
Sabinianus	133	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Sabinianus	170	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sabinus	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sacirus	127	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Sacra	300	Victim	Female	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Sacratus	127	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Sanctinus	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sanctius	269	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sanctus	142	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sarius Spanius	290	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sattavilla	142	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Sattos	291	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Saturnina	172	Petitioner	Female	Latin	
Saturninus	62	Victim	Male	Latin	
Saturninus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Scantius	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Scotius	19	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Secunda	274	Victim	Female	Latin	
Secundina	256	Victim	Female	Latin	
Secundina	268	Victim	Female	Latin	
Secundus	275	Victim	Male	Latin	
Secura	41	Victim	Female	Latin	
Sedebelia	48	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Sediacus	80	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senebellana	189	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Seneciolus	211	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senedo	134	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Senianus	69	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senicianus	19	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senicianus	62	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senicianus	134	Victim	Male	Celtic	Slave
Senicianus	145	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senicio	83	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senila	48	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Senilis	128	Victim	Male	Latin	
Senilis	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Sennus	128	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Senodaecmus	271	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Senorix	135	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Senovara	61	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Senovarus	193	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Senovirus	193	Patronym	Male	Celtic	
Serenella	156	Victim	Female	Latin	
Serenus	290	Petitioner	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Servandus	134	Petitioner	Male	Latin	Slave
Servandus	156	Victim	Male	Latin	
Severa	83	Victim	Female	Latin	
Severa	255	Victim	Female	Latin	
Severa Tertioncna	255	Petitioner	Female	LatinAndCeltic	
Severianus	48	Victim	Male	Latin	
Severianus	55	Victim	Male	Latin	
Severinus	66	Victim	Male	Latin	
Severinus	175	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Severinus	269	Victim	Male	Latin	
Severus	267	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Severus	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Severus	278	Victim	Male	Latin	Citizen
Sextus	261	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Sextus	262	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Silius	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Silo	267	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Silo	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Silonia	275	Victim	Female	Latin	
Silvanus	145	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Silvester	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Silvicola	142	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Silviola	142	Victim	Female	Latin	
Similis	133	Victim	Male	Latin	
Similis	135	Victim	Male	Latin	
Similis	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sinto	265	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sinto	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sinto Valenti(nu)s	265	Victim	Male	Latin	
Soiilos	257	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Solinus	53	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Sosio	211	Victim	Male	Latin	
Spectatus	83	Victim	Male	Latin	
Successus	239	Victim	Male	Latin	
Sulpicius	274	Victim	Male	Latin	
Surilla	83	Victim	Female	Latin	
Surus	275	Victim	Male	Latin	
Tacita	125	Victim	Female	Latin	
Talipieinus	21	Victim	Male	Latin	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Tasgillus	203	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Tatirum	2	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Telesinus	258	Victim	Male	Latin	
Tenera	156	Victim	Female	Latin	
Terentius	92	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Terentius Attiso	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Terentius Attiso	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Tertius	271	Victim	Male	Latin	
Tiberinus	135	Victim	Male	Latin	
Tiberius Claudius Adiutor	307	Victim	Male	Latin	Citizen, Freedman/woman
Tiberius Claudius Trevirus	237	Victim	Male	LatinAndGermanic	Citizen, Freedman/woman
Timotheus	148	Victim	Male	Latin	
Titocuna	155	Petitioner	Female	Celtic	
Titus	240	Victim	Male	Latin	
Titus Egnatius Tyrannus	138	Victim	Male	LatinAndGreek	Citizen
Tretia Maria	141	Victim	Female	Latin	
Trinemetos	211	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Trinnus	81	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Tritos	211	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Trivilla	246	Victim	Female	Latin	
Trutmo Florus	286	Victim	Male	LatinAndGermanic	
Turicus	274	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Ulattius Severus	308	Victim	Male	Latin	
Uricalus	11	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Ursacia	219	Victim	Female	Latin	
Ursula	219	Victim	Female	Latin	
Ursus	219	Victim	Male	Latin	
Ursus	232	Victim	Male	Latin	
Vaeraca	259	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Valaunecus	21	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Valens	255	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Valens	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Valentinus	262	Victim	Male	Latin	
Valeria Quinta	280	Victim	Female	Latin	Freedman/woman
Valerius	267	Victim	Male	Latin	
Valerius	271	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Varasius	142	Victim	Male	Celtic	

Personal Name	TabletID	Role	Gender	Language	Status
Varenius	132	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Varianus	170	Victim	Male	Latin	
Varicillus	184	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Vassianus	142	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Vassicillus	149	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Vassvea	279	Victim	Female	Latin	
Veceta	291	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Veicuna	279	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Veloriga	81	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Velvalis	81	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Velvinna	66	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Vendibedis	48	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Vendicina	134	Victim	Female	Latin	Slave
Venibelia	68	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Venustinus	134	Victim	Male	Latin	Slave
Verax	240	Patronym	Male	Latin	
Verecunda	299	Victim	Female	Latin	
Verecundinus	92	Victim	Male	Latin	
Verecundus	291	Petitioner	Male	Latin	
Verianus	66	Victim	Male	Celtic	
Verio	263	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Verres Tearus	256	Victim	Male	LatinAndCeltic	
Vicariana	184	Petitioner	Female	Latin	
Victor	19	Victim	Male	Latin	
Victorianus	21	Victim	Male	Latin	
Victorinus	21	Victim	Male	Latin	
Vindiorix	56	Petitioner	Male	Celtic	
Vitalinus	162	Victim	Male	Latin	
Vlatucia	255	Victim	Female	Celtic	
Vlatucia	255	Matronym	Female	Celtic	
Vorvena	134	Victim	Female	Celtic	Slave
Wife of Florus	308	Petitioner	Female		